

The Commons

JUNE, 1905

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors
Graham Romeyn Taylor }

CONTENTS

With the Editor.....	325-330
The Chicago Strike Situation	
Lawlessness Overstated	
Inquiries for Causes of the Strike	
The Expected Disclosure at Hand	
Reaping the Whirlwind after	
Sowing to the Wind	
A School Children's Strike	
Poem: Work. By W. K. Maxwell.....	350
A Year of Municipal Advance.....	351
Women's Clubs and Public Charities.....	361
Institute of Social Science and Arts.....	370
Course in Public Charities	
Notes and Articles of Social and	
Industrial Interest.....	371
From Social Settlement Centers.....	376
Book Reviews.....	377

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

National Scope of Municipal Problems	331
By Charles J. Bonaparte	
The Spirit of Co-operation.....	335
By Edwin Balmer	

The Development of Employers' Associations	343
By John B. Andrews	
Strikes and the Remedy	357
By Henry Waldorf Francis	
Women's Part in Philadelphia's Uplift	
I. The Crusade against Tuberculosis	361
By Mrs. Charles J. Hatfield	
II. The Civic Betterment Association	362
By Mrs. Edward G. McCollin	
III. The Philadelphia Association for Household Research	364
By Mrs. Rollin Norris	
IV. The Juvenile Court and Probation System	366
By Mrs. Frederic Schoff	
The Union of Socialists in France ..	367
By Professor Charles R. Henderson	
Chicago's New Hospital for Children	368
By William C. Graves	

The Commons is a monthly magazine treating current events and promoting industrial justice, efficient philanthropy, educational freedom and the people's control of public utilities.

Price. The subscription price is One Dollar a year, payable in advance. Ten Cents a copy. Receipt of subscription is shown by the magazine being mailed.

Postage is Prepaid for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Canada and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add Twenty-five Cents for postage.

How to Remit. Remittances should be sent by draft on Chicago, express-order or money-order payable to the order of THE COMMONS. Stamps will be received for single subscriptions. Cash should be sent in registered letter.

Changes of Address. When a change of address is ordered, both the new and old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances. The magazine will be discontinued at the expiration of the time for which subscription has been made.

Special Numbers of The Commons. Any number under twenty-five copies, ten cents each; over twenty-five and under one hundred, eight cents each; over one hundred, seven cents each (by express).

Advertising Rates. Subject to change without notice. One page, \$10.00; Half page, \$5.50; quarter page, \$3; eighth page, \$2 for each insertion. Bills paid during current month less 5%.

Letters should be addressed to

The Commons.

180 Grand Avenue, CHICAGO, ILL.



Entered at the Chicago Postoffice as second-class matter.

THE DELINEATOR

"The Most Necessary of All Magazines Published for Women"

The June Issue
contains 182
pages, 78 de-
voted to Fash-



ions and 104 to
Home and Gen-
eral Features—
182 pages in all

This reproduction cannot present the beautiful coloring of the June front cover. It is one of George Gibbs' American Girls

Get the June Issue—Now on Sale

IN THIS ISSUE is presented as a fitting companion feature to Mrs. Berkeley-Loyd's "Fashions in New York" no less an authority than Edouard La Fontaine, who will furnish us with the text and illustrations each month for our Paris Letter.

M. La Fontaine is without peer on the European continent as a dress critic and a writer on all topics pertaining to fashions. Besides this, he is an artist of great individuality, as is shown by his sketches which are reproduced in his Paris Letter. They have a style and an atmosphere about them distinctly Parisian. Known personally to all the famous dress creators in the various fashion centres of Europe, he has free access to their establishments and "private views" of their latest productions long before they are seen in public. Under the arrangement just concluded, M. La Fontaine will contribute to THE DELINEATOR exclusively in America.

ANNA BURNHAM WESTERMANN, whose charming drawings have appeared for some time in THE DELINEATOR, illustrating the styles described in the "Fashions in New York," is well known as a creator of figures of living grace, which, without lessening in any way their value as fashion drawings, lifts them far beyond the plane of the usual fashion plate. Mrs. Westermann's women are sweet and womanly and, better than all for your purpose, they know how to wear their dresses. They are always well groomed, and their appearance each month in THE DELINEATOR will surely be welcomed by all of its readers. Hereafter Mrs. Westermann's fashion drawings will appear only in THE DELINEATOR.

BEAUTIFUL FASHION ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLORS

ROMANCES OF SUMMER RESORTS," by Weymer Jay Mills, begins in this number. No series of tales published for some time promises so much of general interest as these charmingly reminiscent tales. Their delightful telling and the quaint old pictures which accompany them assure enjoyment to every reader.

A TRAVEL SKETCH that is brimful of interest is F. Berkeley Smith's description of "A CORNER IN NORMANDY." It is interesting as a story and gives you more than a passing glance at one of the most curious nooks in the old world.

THE third installment of Albert Bigelow Paine's "THE LUCKY-PIECE," and another of the "SON RILEY RABBIT" tales by Grace MacGowan Cooke, together with the many regular departments, make this issue a remarkable one. "THE PRACTICAL SIDE OF A WEDDING," in the Home Department, discusses fully the problem of bringing the wedding festivities within a reasonable expenditure.

FOR ALL THESE GOOD THINGS AND MANY OTHERS

"Just get The Delineator"

Of your Newsdealer or any Butterick agent, or of the publishers, at Fifteen Cents a copy; One Dollar a year

THE BUTTERICK PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., Butterick Building, New York

Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.

The Commons

Number 6—Vol. X

Tenth Year

Chicago, June, 1905

With The Editor

The Chicago Strike Situation

The teamsters' strike at Chicago enters upon its eighth week with the deadlock as fast, if not as firm, as ever. Every conciliatory effort to break it has failed. The committee of clergymen and two influential women named by the Mayor to interview representatives of each side found no middle ground for concession. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, though courteously received across both lines of the battle effected no change in the situation. The State Board of Arbitration has been ignored and made no attempt to exercise its right to institute investigation and compel testimony. The Committee of the City Council appointed to stop the spread of the strike succeeded no better in their endeavor. For although there is no inclination upon the part of the unions, outside of the Teamsters' Joint Council, to go out, the lumber teamsters are tying up the building trades and no one knows how many more of the 30,000 teamsters yet at work may enter the fray. Mean-

while the "fight-to-the-finish" determination of the strikers and the ever augmented forces of the employers remain unbroken. So far there is not much evidence of suffering upon the part of the striking teamsters. The demand for labor in their own and other lines has been such as to put many of them at work and the strike fund has proved adequate to meet the wants of those who are unemployed. The embarrassment suffered by many merchants and the public, though gradually decreasing is still very great.

Lawlessness Overstated

The violence attending the strike has been grossly exaggerated in some of the newspapers of the city, and more still throughout the country and abroad. It has been entirely sporadic, and in by far the most cases has been due to individual altercations between union and non-union teamsters on the streets. Race prejudice still further strained the truce, when Southern negro strike breakers appeared upon the scene. They were

soon deported, however, by those who saw their mistake in introducing them. "Riots" have been reserved for the scare-heads of the sensational press. Only in a very few instances were there any approaches to organized mob violence. The writer in company with the Mayor of the city and frequently alone visited the points of greatest disturbance, but witnessed only an occasional street brawl. Concerted plan and organized action to assault non-union men and members of trades-unions, who did not favor the strike, have been confessed by union officials, and their hired "sluggers," when arrested and arraigned for their crimes. Eleven men have been killed during the strike, some of whom were victims of these "educational committees."

The police situation has been very difficult throughout. The Chief reported only 1500 men upon who he "could hang uniforms." At the same time requisitions to guard 3000 to 4000 wagons were made upon him. The area of strike disturbances could not be localized or hedged in except at a very few points. Acts of violence occurred casually all over the city at widely scattered points. Consequently every wagon involved had to be guarded by one or more patrolmen, who were taken from their beats. Long caravans with convoys of marching police and patrol wagons full of them required a still larger force. Singularly little crime has attended the withdrawal of the police from their usual beats throughout the

city. For the number of strikers involved, which has only included between 3500 and 4500 of the 35,000 teamsters, and in consideration of the wide territory involved, the regular and special police and the sheriff's undisciplined deputies have had the situation fairly well in hand. At no time has it warranted the call of the military. Militia regiments, however, have been in readiness to respond to the requisition for their help, which both the Mayor and sheriff have threatened to make upon the slightest evidence of concerted effort to intensify the excitement or to organize disorder. No police vigilance or even military force could prevent the casual individual altercations and the occasional throwing of missiles from buildings. Only upon such evidence of lawlessness, the usual hot and hasty demand for troops has been continuously reiterated. But through the vigilance of the Chief of Police and the calmness and alertness of the Mayor, Chicago has been spared the disgrace of having her civil authority even supplemented by military force.

Inquiries for Causes of the Strike

Meanwhile the investigation of the causes and responsibility of the strike, and the conspiracies, intimidation and violence attending it, are proceeding in ways not anticipated when the Mayor's investigating commission was announced in the last issue of THE COMMONS.

The commission was faced at its very

first session by the refusal of the officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the attorneys representing it and other unions involved in the controversy, to offer any testimony at any session of the commission, unless it agreed to make all sessions public. While the demand reasonably urged for authentic stenographic reports of all proceedings and for cross-examination of witnesses might have been met without publicity, yet notwithstanding the reasons for privacy urged by the commission, the point was not yielded.

The same considerations which obviously justify the grand jury in holding its sessions behind closed doors justified the privacy of the preliminary proceedings of the commission. The protection of those who might disclose the sources of evidence which they themselves could not give, could only thus be secured. Without judicial authority it would be impossible, if all hearings were public, to prevent the widest publicity being given to unfounded charges, for the publication of which the commission only would be held responsible. This responsibility the members of the commission unanimously refused to assume, at least in the preliminary stages of their inquiry and before they could determine the lines within which testimony should be confined in case the way opened later on for public hearing.

Unexpectedly, legal investigations were instituted which elicited sworn testimony to some of the allegations volunteered by way of information at the

first sessions of the commission and are forcing the disclosures which its members knew would be forthcoming sooner or later. Although the injunction proceedings before the United States Court had begun to inquire for cause why the strikers should not be punished for contempt, the unusual scope given to the testimony before the Master in Chancery had not then appeared. Moreover, indictments for conspiracy were presented to the Criminal Court by one Grand Jury, and another has now finished a searching inquiry. It at once became apparent therefore, that without legal status and the power to subpoena witnesses and compel testimony, the Mayor's Commission could not presume to parallel the court investigations. Nevertheless it was thought that the Commission opened the opportunity for volunteering evidence, which possibly might not be forthcoming in the trials at law. It therefore offered to remain at command to gather from every available source all facts bearing upon the prevention of the recurrence of the continuous disturbances with the teamsters, which have been so long a source of menace.

The Expected Disclosure at Hand

As we go to press, however, the Grand Jury inquiries promise to fulfil the function for which the Commission was appointed and was held in reserve. The testimony for which it bid a month

ago, is now being offered to these juries not only by constraint, but some of it voluntarily. The very charges and counter-charges for the voluntary substantiation of which opportunity was then offered, are at last being sworn to in the Jury room. Could these men have been tempted a month ago to tell what they are now testifying against each other, it could not have failed to hasten a settlement of this disastrously long struggle. The public sentiment now being aroused would have made its continuance impossible long ago. The manipulators of public opinion, who thirty days since had not derision enough for any investigation of the causes of the strike are now printing columns of comment upon the hearings, which the Commission then alleged these same causes to have upon the settlement of the strike. Such a suggestion then was severely condemned as an almost criminal diversion of attention from the one and only issue which they would allow to be discussed and which every one acknowledged to be primary and supreme, namely the preservation of law and order. Now in the same disingenuous columns the charges and counter-charges involving the origin of the strike are recognized to be the causes of the continued disturbance.

Unfortunately the offering or acceptance of a bribe except in cases of public officials is not a crime in the Illinois code, as it is in several other states. But the Grand Jury's indictments for conspiracy and a still more important prose-

cution for criminal libel promise to disclose some of the blackmail, bribery, conspiracy and graft. With the open acknowledgment that much of it was due to an agent of some employers who has been allowed to escape arrest and disappear, it will be a public calamity if none of the offerers of bribes are brought to the judgment justly reserved for those who accepted or levied them.

Reaping the Whirlwind after Sowing to the Wind

No greater service can be rendered all parties involved in this most unfortunate of Chicago's many strikes, than to go to the bottom of what thus caused, aggravated and complicated it, and to face all concerned with the stern, hard facts. The merchants of Chicago cannot afford to suffer the loss and menace, which they have so long endured, without eradicating whatever roots of the injustice may be found among themselves. The honest rank and file of trades unionists and their reputable leaders, neither in selfrespect nor in loyalty to legitimate unionism can longer tolerate the aspersion and shame cast upon the whole labor movement by the parasitic leadership, which is as dishonest and disloyal toward law and public interests as it is to union principles and ideals. Whether either employers or employes dare longer to continue their policy of silence the public has the right and the will to go to the bottom of this intolerable situation, and cut it out. The security of business, the integ-

city of organized labor and the public peace cannot be assured in Chicago, until and unless some authorized body without fear or favor, discloses and connects "reaping the whirlwind" with "the sowing to the winds," which has debauched and disgraced some of the organizations and men that have at last involved the whole city in their sin and shame.

A School Children's "Strike"

The most wholesale truancy that perhaps has ever been experienced in the entire history of our American public schools has been a curious and menacing feature of the Chicago Teamsters' strike. The Department of Compulsory Education served over 3000 warnings within two weeks upon the parents of 4430 pupils reported to be absent by the principals of 12 public schools. It is significant, if not reassuring, that only four parents were convicted of inciting and justifying their children. Parental responsibility is by no means to be limited either to the few who defiantly accepted it and were justly punished by \$20 fine and costs, or to the many who denied it, and kept their promise to send the children back to school. Many a father or mother who enforced that promise by administering a sound and deserved spanking may have been as much, if not more, to blame than their youngsters, for the talk at home, which emboldened, if it did not incite, the children to lawlessness.

It is noteworthy also that of the

twenty-three children committed to corrective institutions, all were boys, one was not connected with any school, nine had already been under discipline, for habitual truancy of the school rules. Two of them had been paroled from reformatory schools. Only thirteen were first offenders. Nearly half the leaders therefore, seem to have been "hoodlums," and were swiftly and sternly dealt with as such. The hoodlumism, which in this, as every other disorder always endangers the situation, where it does not create it, is in turn aggravated, if not positively promoted, by the school penalty of "suspension" from attendance. The unruly boy who bids for that very immunity from discipline and restraint should either be in his place at school or in corrective custody. The street is no substitute for either.

The charges of inciting the children to lawlessness recklessly made against the teachers are declared by the Superintendent of Schools to have been sustained by proof in no single instance. The fact that the Teachers' Federation to which many of them belong, has been affiliated for some time with the Chicago Federation of Labor, was cited by a member of the Board of Education, as being a psychological basis, if not cause, for the children's participation in the excitement over the strike. In most instances, however, it must have had a very remote and unconscious influence. It is more than doubtful, whether the children engaged in "riotous truancy" ever knew that their

teachers belonged to any Federation, much more that it had labor union affiliation. Nevertheless the teachers who led their Federation into organic relations with trades unionism, despite the grave misgivings, not only of many of their own number, but a very large part of the public, are beginning to suffer some of the inevitable embarrassments, of which friends both of their Federation and the trades unions warned them. And the end is not yet.

It is well for organized labor that its Chicago Federation was spared the humiliation of standing for the amazing folly, thrust upon it by those who would have had it "heartily endorse the boldness, spirit, and humanity of the striking children." What man of them ought not to have hesitated to have given any such expression to his idea either of childhood or of the strike? Childhood is scarcely capable of "striking," unless indeed the strike can be thought of as mere child's play. In one school the youngsters, who were not reminded of the "unfair coal" delivered by "scab" teamsters "struck to enforce their demand that recess should be an hour long instead of fifteen minutes!

There are other elements to be recog-

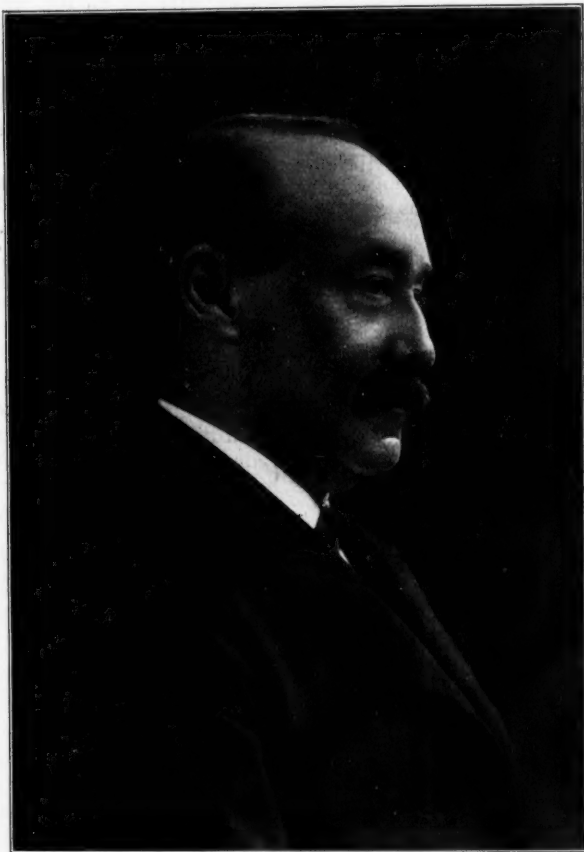
nized and reckoned with. The greatest incitement to the spread of "riotous truancy" was given by that portion of the press, which in addition to sensational exaggeration of every street brawl into a "riot," printed pictures of the boys' bravado on the "picket line" with the photographs of the leaders of infantile "mobs." Moreover the community which compels no better way of preventing or stopping such a prolonged disturbance of its peace and order, than by letting the combatants fight it out on the streets between themselves or the police, need not wonder that the children imitate their elders in deed of lawlessness, intimidation and violence.

It is well for Chicago and the whole country besides, that the Compulsory Education Department and the Juvenile Court through its probation officers and the prompt enforcement of the school law, so quickly and effectively suppressed this disorder. For no further reaching precedent could have been given, and no more contagious example could have been set than to have allowed longer life or any success to a breach of school discipline, which would have become a crime the moment it ceased to be a prank.

National Scope of Municipal Problems

By Charles J. Bonaparte

EDITOR'S NOTE: President Roosevelt's appointment of Mr. Bonaparte to the Secretaryship of the Navy, announced just as *THE COMMONS* goes to press, is meeting the hearty approval of the country. For his long service as a leader among independents and all men enlisted in the fight for better city government, the people feel a debt of gratitude. That he is a thoroughly practical man with ability to accomplish effectively and courageously the definite work he undertakes is universally recognized by his friends as well as by the enemies of the public weal who have encountered his relentless hostility. The following article is the principal portion of his annual address before the National Municipal League of which organization he has been the honored president.



CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

President of the Municipal League, who now succeeds Paul Morton as Secretary of the Navy.

How to obtain good government in each of our American municipalities is not a purely local problem. The greatest, we may almost say the one great,

stumbling block in the path of municipal reform is the corruption of our politics, and this corruption is the fruit of causes in no wise peculiar to any one city or

even to all cities in the American Union. To have good city government in a democratic republic we must, first of all, and before all else, have good citizens: they are no less needful for cities by the shores of the Pacific or of the Great Lakes than for those on the Atlantic Seaboard or our inland rivers; and without them good State government and good National government become ends of desire and effort no less disappointing and elusive, no less hard to gain and hard to hold when gained for a moment, than in the most ring-ruled, the most boss-ridden of our great cities.

It is true that the evils of political degradation in those cities, if not more serious in themselves or more alarming for the thoughtful and patriotic, are undoubtedly more scandalous and repulsive than its immediate results in our State governments which have, in great measure, become, and our National government which shows many signs of becoming what the contagion of our city governments would naturally make them. How to secure honesty in the administration of public affairs in Greater New York or Philadelphia is already, in every sense, a problem of urgency for the patriotic citizen of New York State or Pennsylvania, it grows daily more and more a problem of urgency for the patriotic citizen of the United States.

An illustration is afforded by the proposal, seemingly endorsed by the result of the Chicago election, that municipalities undertake the business of transporting passengers for hire by owning and operating street railways. How far any government shall assume functions not inherent to sovereignty is essentially a question of expediency; historical and legal reasons and the influence of political and social tendencies will usually determine it in the case of each community; it is not and, perhaps, it cannot be fixed by any general rule or be subject to principles of universal application. It would be hard to find any very good reason why the United States should monopolize the business of sending messages by post which would not

justify a similar monopoly as to messages by telegraph, and, in fact, in most European countries the State takes charge of this business as it does of the other. Some persons may think that we might do well to follow this example; a few, perhaps, may, even now, believe that it would be better were our post office, with all its abuses and scandals, turned over to the Adams Express Company or to whatever competitor might offer to do the work on more favorable terms; and others, who deem this suggestion, for practical reasons, inadmissible, may yet hold that the first lesson of experience in what we now undertake of such work is to undertake just as little more as may be possible. But on one point all must agree, namely that, however earnestly and confidently each disputant may believe what he says and say what he believes, he cannot, consistently with charity and common sense, either believe or say that all who differ with him are necessarily insincere or their attitude immoral.

This is equally, perhaps somewhat more clearly, true of the suggested acquisition and management of street railways by cities; this may be proven by experience wise and salutary; it may be proven unwise and harmful; it may be a gratifying success in some cities and a dismal failure in others; no one of these conjectures is so evidently sound as to command immediate and universal assent, or so plainly unreasonable that it cannot be sincerely and intelligently endorsed. There will be naturally and there is, in fact, a wide and also an honest difference of opinion on the subject and, while this remains true, that subject will be one highly suitable for discussion before the National Municipal League, but, to my mind, at least, altogether inappropriate for determination by the League or action in pursuance of such determination.

The same agitation, however, furnishes also what appears to me a peculiarly apt illustration of that class of topics which *are* within the League's field of labor. In the streets of cities which decide to furnish rapid transit to

their inhabitants private corporations already have their rails; the plant of these corporations must be acquired and their franchises, whatever these may be, extinguished, before the experiment of municipal ownership of street railways, on any considerable scale at all events, can be fairly tried. How shall this be accomplished? In this question, I do not refer to the mere method of attaining the end, but to its material incidents; that is to say, I ask whether the process shall be a moral or an immoral process.

There is danger of two very grave abuses in any conversion of private into public property under analogous circumstances, the danger of bribery and "graft," with consequent injustice and hardship to the public, and the danger of spoliation excused by demagogism. These two evils are by no means mutually exclusive; on the contrary, the second is often the source and yet more often the pretext of the first. Wealth defends itself by corrupting its assailants; moreover, in the use of such weapons, it by no means remains always or habitually on the defensive. Philip of Macedon is credited with saying that he held no city impregnable which could be reached by a mule loaded with gold; our "Captains of Industry" and "Generalissimi of Finance" would probably agree with him. The true citadel of any community which they threaten is absolute honesty and fair dealing on its own part, honesty in intention and language no less than in act. When private rights are destroyed for the public good their extent and value must be dispassionately ascertained by an impartial and competent tribunal, and full compensation for their loss paid over without delay or question. This is simple honesty, and that kind of honesty which is emphatically the best policy. A city which displays it may and probably will have to resist the bold and insidious schemes of rich and unscrupulous men seeking to make it pay fourfold for what it buys or to cheat it out of what it has bought; but in such a struggle, of all others, it "will have the strength of

ten because its heart is pure;" for any city striving to these ends and guided by these lights, our League should do all it can, be this much or little.

In like manner the mere forms of municipal institutions and especially of municipal government, however interesting as objects of study and even practically important, can have, for the League, the character and consequences of means only. The League does not exist to secure model charters for American cities, it exists to aid in securing for them honest, efficient and economical government; and, if it advocates one form of charter rather than another, this is only because it believes, as the result of observation and experience, not of mere *a priori* reasoning, that such government will be more readily gained and kept under the former than under the latter. After all, to repeat what I have said on other occasions, the men who administer the charter, whatever its merits or defects, make up the vital factor in the problem's solution. Men of the right kind will give those they govern fairly good government with very imperfect laws; while the best laws human wit may devise are impotent to do the like work with men of the wrong kind to give them effect. The provisions of its charter are for the city what its armament and armor are for the battleship: these help a strong, brave and faithful crew to do its duty, but are no safeguards against disaster when the man behind the gun is a weakling, a coward or a traitor at heart; so honest and competent officials can serve the public to better advantage if their duties and powers be fixed by enlightened laws; but that would be a very stupid boss who couldn't "beat" the most skillfully drawn of model charters were he allowed to man all the offices it affected.

It does not follow from what I have just said that the League has no other function than to imitate a certain very worthy preacher, all of whose sermons were alleged to amount, in last resort, to repetitions in varying language of the edifying but somewhat monotonous

exhortation: "Oh, brethren, be good!" There are some features of a good city government so clearly shown to be vital by history, as well as by reason, that, for reformers, no more room remains for discussion as to their necessity and merits, than as to those of laws punishing homicide or theft. Whatever the number, names and powers of our elective officers, we cannot have good government without fair elections; whatever the duties and compensation of our public servants, to fulfil the former and fairly earn the latter, they must be chosen for merit, not from favoritism, and removed for the public good, not to benefit any party, faction or person; however we may distribute authority among city officials, in a government of public opinion, responsibility for every public act or omission must be made clear, certain and individual, to afford a reasonable hope of effective and beneficent control by public opinion. These three requisites, at least, are so evidently indispensable to a satisfactory government for an American city, that we may fairly count an honest election law, a thorough-going application of Civil Service Reform, and such simplification of duties and concentration of powers among municipal officers as will give the public some one man certainly to blame whenever there is any reason to blame anybody, ends of effort for municipal reformers.

At first sight, it would seem that an honest election law must be imperatively demanded by every honest man. For officers of election to wilfully misstate the people's verdict at the polls, in shameless violation of their own oaths, is so gross a wrong in itself, and so plainly destructive of self-government for the community thus wronged, that one can hardly believe any public man would propose or openly advocate changes in the law evidently and even avowedly intended to furnish opportunities for mistakes by voters and frauds by election officers, or that any political party would venture to endorse such proposals should any one be found to make them. Nevertheless just such

changes in the law, for precisely such purposes, have been repeatedly attempted and in great part effected in my own State during the past four years; the party now dominant there is urging at this time an amendment to our Constitution whereby its leaders may arbitrarily disfranchise at any time hereafter their political opponents in numbers sufficient to perpetuate even against the people's will, their own control of the State government, and, although I hope and believe this scheme will be defeated, it will have, indeed it has already, the countenance and support of many men who claim to be, and in private life are, honest and of good repute.

I ask that the National Municipal League on this subject give voice to the political conscience of the American people; that it declare the filching of a man's vote no less robbery than the filching of his goods or money; that it indignantly condemn any tampering with the fair and truthful record of the people's judgment as involving all the guilt of forgery, perjury and treason to free institutions, and that it urge its affiliated associations and individual members to demand always and everywhere throughout the Union a free ballot, which gives full effect to each voter's true wishes, and a fair count, which computes and returns the ballots cast according to the intentions of those who cast them.

There is hardly less reason for surprise that any defender should be found for a system which makes public employment the bait or reward of political activity or partisan services, and yet there is even less reason to question that such defenders are numerous and influential and often, even habitually, successful. In very few of our cities is there a general application of the Merit System in the selection of public servants. Where this does exist, only perpetual vigilance on the part of friends of good government prevents wholesale evasions and even impudent defiance of the law; elsewhere we find either a few fragments of the public service rescued with difficulty from the enemies of

honest government or all of it abandoned to them. The National Municipal League has no more plain and pressing duty than to aid and encourage, in all appropriate ways and at all seasonable times, the universal acceptance and loyal observance by American municipalities of the principles of Civil Service Reform.

No master can be assured of faithful and efficient service who cannot set apart the zealous and capable from the lazy and stupid among his servants and treat each class as its merits and his interests demand. But to know whom to praise and keep and promote and whom to blame and send away, he must also know what each servant does or leaves undone; and, to this end, the task of each must be separate and under his own, and only his own, control. The people of a great American city, like

any other employer of labor, ought to so distribute the work of their servants, that for whatever of this work is well or ill done or not done at all there shall be always someone known, certain, and at hand to answer; if two or three or half a dozen public officers or sets of public officers must take part in a public act, the people's blame is spread out too thin, the people's anger is too largely wasted, to really tell when this act is omitted or ill done. Let us have always some person or body and, as far as may be, one man, one man with no "ifs" or "buts" to qualify his responsibility, one man whom all know to be the man who might have done and ought to have done otherwise, to hold answerable when aught goes amiss. In urging this much, the League points a moral taught by all the lessons of American municipal history.

The Spirit of Co-operation

Its Spread from N. O. Nelson to his Employes and Customers

By Edwin Balmer

"Nelson? Oh, yes; N. O. He's rated a million or over. Any bank could take five hundred thousand of his paper. Wait a minute."

The Missourian was drawing his thumb rapidly over his indexed file. Long ago, they say—and in Philadelphia still—What kind of a man is—? usually elicited a genealogical table; but now, for some time, the American edition of Burke's Peerage has been taken over by Dun and Bradstreet. So the Missourian handed me a sheet, stamped "confidential" in red letters, which bore the really vital and interesting details concerning N. O. Nelson and his enterprise. Not to abuse that confidence, these were, in summary: Liabilities, few—those necessarily incidental to a firm doing a large business; all assets, about a million and a third; net worth, a million.

"Look at the 'quick assets,' " the Missourian noticed admiringly. "Well

up in the hundred thousands. All right; good—what?"

"Nelson?" I asked, "Or the company?"

"Nelson; that's the company."

"But I thought that he—"

"Is giving the company away as fast as he can?" I know what you mean," the Missourian went on carelessly, the important facts off his mind. "He's funny, isn't he? Good business man; made money, all right; understand he could have made—or saved a good deal more. But he's got some queer ideas of getting rid of it."

"Queer?"

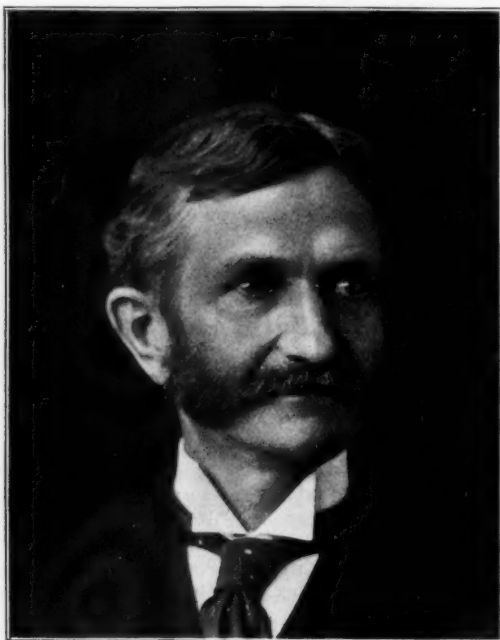
"Yes."

If I quoted the typical expressions of this conversation further, it would all sum up in "Just queer." Why? Because the unusual and the unique becomes "queer" when there appears "nothing in it" for the doer; and owning, operating and actively controlling a corpo-

ration doing business for profit—and making it—the anomaly lies in the condition that Mr. Nelson declines the profit from that business. For—

"Profit," says Mr. Nelson, "arises partly from underpaying the employees, partly from overcharging the buyer and overpaying captain or capitalist. Rather than accumulate great properties for himself, it is better sense and better ethics that the captain of industry man-

conflict of interest is not only irrepressible; it is constant, not always seen, but always felt. 'The higgling of the market' is the way of the orthodox political economy for arriving at prices and wages. Fixing uniform prices by combinations and wages by unions are inevitable expedients to avoid destructive competition. No one yet presented an acceptable theory of equitable division when trade is conducted for private



N. O. NELSON

An employer and capitalist who has recently declined further profits from his large business and is taking the last steps to make the corporation which he controls, completely co-operative.

age for the interest of those immediately under his direction and for a larger circle beyond these. Incidentally he is a servant of the public; he had better be so intentionally.

"The whole process of buying and selling, whether labor or merchandise, rests in the larger sense on the old maxim of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. In the nature of the case and by tradition and education each tries for the best bargain. The

profit. We must get along with the empirical methods we have. But we may approximate economic values and abate the glaring business evils by accepting wages and prices as they are and thereafter equalizing by dividing the profits between the two sides. When the seller is not perceptibly benefited by high prices there is a distinct advance toward amicable relations, toward a conscious mutuality. And when an employee of any grade, from manager

to apprentice, receives the other half of the profit, he must be both stupid and base if he does not avoid waste of time and material."

It was characteristic of Mr. Nelson—who, when asked if he was a Democrat, a Socialist or an Anarchist, replied, "I am an immediate opportunist"—that he did not wait for any comprehensive change in the social order to sweep his system in; that he did not need even another individual to think as he did to help him create that system in his business which should do away

joint production and distribution—and all starting from the employer. Mr. Nelson himself stated for me, as concisely as possible and without display, how he brought it about.

"The Nelson Mfg. Co. is an ordinary corporation doing business for profit. For these times, it is not an extraordinarily large concern, employing about 150 people in St. Louis in its general offices and store, about 250 at Leclaire, Ill., where its principal factories are located and about 100 in its factory at Bessemer, Ala.



SCHOOL AT LECLAIRE

The winding roads and the general informality of the surroundings are in striking contrast to the industrial towns which are most consciously and conspicuously "model."

with the worst iniquities and the acknowledged injustices of other businesses—and yet would permit his business to compete successfully and live with those others. Already an anomaly, in that his object seemed rather to give instead of get as much as possible, he now found himself with the new constructive idea he had worked out, a paradox—a co-operator without co-operators.

It seems that if there is one thing you can't force a person to become, it is a co-operator; the most that could be done to create co-operation would be to bring co-operators together. "Co-operation," says the definition, "is the voluntary union of persons in joint production, etc.—Co-operation starts with the worker." Yet here we have a group of producers, unconsciously and involuntarily (certainly without their active volition) made to co-operate in

"The business was started 33 years ago. In 1886 it began sharing profits with employees; in 1890 it started village Leclaire; in 1905 it started dividing profits with customers as well as employees, and its founder and chief capitalist declined further profits.

"Profit sharing, as first started in 1886, gave the capital invested commercial rate of interest and the remaining profit was divided by equal percentage on the capital and wages. Later this was changed so as to allow 2 per cent on wages to 1 per cent on capital in excess of interest. During the past 19 years, the dividends to wages have ranged from 4 per cent to 10 per cent, averaging a little over 6 per cent. For the first three years, the dividends were paid in stock. At the end of 1904 practically all employees were stockholders. At the beginning, a fixed per



The Home of N. O. Nelson at Leclaire, Ill.

centage of the profits was set aside for a provident fund. Later this was changed to simply taking full and ample care of those who become helpless, whether by sickness or death, including, of course, widows and orphans.

"Beginning with this year, the profits are disposed of by allowing 6 per cent interest on capital, 1 and one-half per cent on wages and 2 per cent on the gross profits of the customers' purchases. These per centages are multiplied as many times as the profit will go around. To this dividend fund by the company, is added the entire profit arising from the stock owned by the chief capitalist, which is approximately three-fourths of the whole; of this fund, four-tenths go to the customers, three-tenths to the employes and three-tenths to educational and benevolent purposes."

Mr. Nelson, then, as the principal owner of the company, has stopped taking any profit or interest; but as active manager of the business, he gets a small salary. I was told in St. Louis that it is about one-fourth of what Mr. Nelson would pay another, should he put some one else in his place; but, as Mr. Nelson says, "It is a living wage; and it is enough." To the one-fourth profit given over to philanthropy, Mr. Nelson is adding as much of his capital as he can conveniently withdraw from the business. This philanthropy includes his free consumptive homes in New Mexico and other activities as well as his work in Leclaire. As the dividends are paid in his stock, giving

him the money, and the employes and customers the ownership of the business, it will not be long before the employes and customers are complete owners and the company a completely co-operative concern. And this is the point toward which Mr. Nelson has been working many years, waiting for the proper conditions before making the last move.

Two significant conditions—before we turn to the most significant and upon which the merit of the whole enterprise depends—should here be pointed out. In *THE COMMONS* for May, was published a long note upon the failure of the old profit-sharing and the rise of the new "grab-sharing." Mr. Nelson's first profit-sharing, from the success of which he was able to go on to the fuller co-operation, was neither that old profit-sharing which generally failed, nor that new "grab-sharing" which seems now to succeed. The profits which Mr. Nelson divided were not felt as "extra inducements"—and inequitable inducements—for extra hard work, from which the employer after all got the lion's share. Mr. Nelson has always felt that his employes were partners with him in his business—and divided profits with them in that spirit. The other evil—"Grab sharing"—is of course foreign to such a largely competitive business as Nelson's—the manufacture of plumbing and sanitary supplies. Yet from this competition arises a second significant condition.

It has often been noticed and commented that the firms which have be-

come conspicuous for benefits—whether shares of profits or other benefits to employees—have been concerns, like the Jones Sucker Rod Company of Toledo and the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio, making a patented, or non-competitive article, through the patent rights or other market conditions of which those concerns have been able to make an unusual profit from which they could well afford to do a little for their employees, which companies forced to compete in the open market can not afford to do. It is most interesting therefore to note that the N. O. Nelson company, while meeting severe competition, has paid the unusual profits, with other benefits, in addition to wages and at the same

confessed "owner of as much or more property" than he wants, distributing the stock of his company after a certain plan so that, at the end of a certain number of years, a joint stock company replaces the corporation controlled by one—a joint stock company, with a few variations perhaps, but a joint stock company, nothing more. "Why," one may well ask, "do you and others study this and applaud this as co-operation? Only one man, with the co-operative ideal perhaps, has given practically free and almost enforced upon his employees and customers certain shares of stock till they hold, or will soon hold all. How is that co-operation? The union of your so-called-co-operators is entirely or almost entirely involuntary



The Homes of the Employees—and owned by them

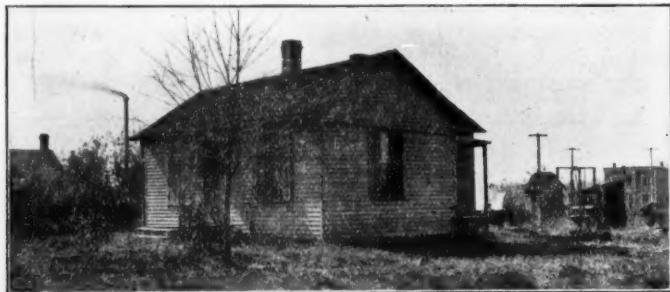
time turned out the grade of product which furnished the "Grand Prize" Bath Room at the St. Louis Fair, winning the highest possible award for the Nelson Manufacturing Company.

Some of this is new; some interesting, perhaps; but the vital spark, the life of the matter is almost unnoted. For what—exactly *what* is coming about? One sees in what is already accomplished a fair and encouraging reproducing of the mighty foreign co-operative societies;—the best partial expression, perhaps, of the social ideal wrought by the Expedient; another, however, sees only an elderly man, the

and accidental. The capitalists of an ordinary joint stock company are more consciously and voluntarily co-operators than these. They club their resources for some common purpose; they choose the managers of the concern by common acts; they share together the profits; they bear together the losses of their venture. Why, then, are these last not co-operators? "Because," Mr. E. V. Neale, the veteran co-operator answers, "all these acts, according to the common constitution of joint-stock companies, are done simply from the desire of the parties who do them to promote their own immediate advantage."

There is something quite apart from, and which can not be begotten from, the mere mechanical distribution of stock among employes and customers which determines the fate of the movement—joint stock company, or co-operative. For, as Mr. Neale goes on, "I say this is the essential distinction between the two. Joint-stock companies are trading corporations, established to carry on business for the benefit of those who set them up, by means of any contracts which the recognized rules of justice, enforced by courts of law, permit. Co-

might have extended his profit-sharing system and, by the methodical distribution of his stock, built up the frame-work of co-operation. And the sprouting of this higher aim, was—I am sure—one of the conditions which he awaited when he said, "This (co-operative distribution of stock) has been my objective point for many years past, awaiting only the proper conditions." Awaiting? He should have said, cultivating or producing. Better than any one else he has seen that a share of stock can not make a co-operator; the



Type of Employee's dwelling in Edwardsville

In this town, just adjoining Leclaire, the operative who moved from this house to Leclaire paid \$9 a month rent.

operative societies are trading corporations, formed to carry on business in accordance with principles of justice more perfect than those now enforced by courts of law; principles voluntarily adopted by their founders, who resolve to seek their own advantage only through and in subordination to these principles, and would regard the proposal to depart from them, in order to gain some greater advantage for themselves, as a bribe to wrong-doing. In this higher aim the true strength of co-operation, its inner strength, consists."

And it is in this higher aim that N. O. Nelson is in the truest sense a co-operator; and it was lacking this higher aim, until in education, training or selection, it could be brought out that till now—if now, indeed—he has seen the hope of true co-operation impracticable. Ten years ago; twenty years ago; or at any time he

mutual interest, represented by the holding of a share of stock was one of the essentials—and he has supplied that. The rest:—

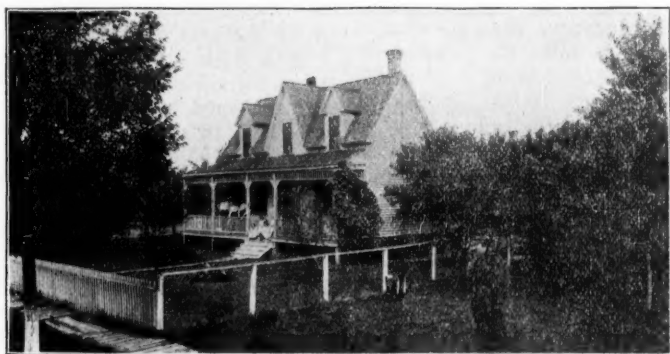
In 1890, 125 acres of rich upland was secured, adjacent to Edwardsville, Ill., 18 miles north-east from St. Louis. About ten acres of this land abutting on the depot of the Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad, was reserved for factory purposes and about thirty acres of the remainder was laid out for residence and social purposes. The factories were built on the best modern standard factory plans. Railroad sidetracks were laid into the premises. The residence portion was laid out park style with winding streets. Concurrent with building the factories, there were built a double bowling alley and billiard room, a club house for single men and a number of houses for employes.

This building of Leclaire was under-

taken to provide homes for people who ordinarily get none, to make steady work under favorable conditions, to foster intelligence and civic spirit, to provide recreation and cultivate beauty, especially out-doors and natural beauty. There are trees and grass along the winding roads, there are large flower beds about the factories and in the public grounds; there is a seven acre artificial lake with bath houses and boats, some oak woods along side; well kept lawns, flowers and fruit trees about all the houses, good sidewalks and hard and well kept roads and streets.

gave up his house because he did not like the place.

Leclaire is not incorporated. It has no local authority nor any officer, nor any one in command directly or indirectly. There are no rules or "don't" signs. The public utilities are managed by the company, as the convenient and natural agent of all the residents, as well as the employees. An item of "Leclaire expense"—expense of grounds, sidewalks, streets, sprinkling and electric lights—is provided for and paid from the regular operating expenses of the company.



Type of Employee's Home in Leclaire

The \$12 a month which the occupant pays is not applied as rent, but as direct installment to make up full purchase price of \$1,500 for the house and grounds.

The houses (some of which we illustrate here) are cottages of from three to seven rooms, set in lots of 75 to 100 feet front; and from 130 to 180 feet deep. They are all supplied with choice water pumped a distance of six miles, and with electric lights. When an employe wishes a house, he selects a lot, the plan is mutually agreed upon; it is built by a force employed by the company; 5 per cent for office expense is added to the cost of material and labor, and the man pays monthly installments of from \$12.00 up, according to his income and the size of his family. There has never been a case in which a man had money accumulated to make an advance payment, neither has there been any case in which a man failed to pay. There has been no case in which a man

There is no requirement expressed or understood that employes are to live in Leclaire. As a matter of fact, a majority are Edwardsville people and a good many who have built homes have, for one reason or another, built adjoining Leclaire. There happen to be a good many residents who are not employes. In selling lots or building homes, there are no restrictions. It becomes their property outright, subject only to their payments.

There are, in all deeds, two protective clauses, a building line so as to present a uniform front, and one limiting the use of the lot to residence, benevolent or educational purposes. Most of the residents are not total abstainers, but it is doubtful if a single vote could be had in Leclaire for admitting a saloon or a

livery stable, or admitting any business into the residence portion.

A co-operative store, owned by the employes and their neighbors, conducts the business and distributes the profits by the regular Rochdale plan. A kindergarten has been maintained from the beginning, so that now practically all of the young people and children have the benefit of a kindergarten education. There is an industrial school for boys and girls above sixteen, from anywhere. They study four and one half hours a day and work four and one half hours. The work is on the farm or in the factories or at housebuilding; work is a part of the education. Boys are allowed by the state to enter the factories at fourteen, but Mr. Nelson has raised that age for work in his factories, as mentioned above, to sixteen years. The schooling is free but non-resident pupils pay the cost of board and washing, \$2.50 a week. They earn from \$2.00 to \$4.50 a week, according to capacity. There is singing and dancing one night a week, baseball, rowing and bowling through the summer and lectures, musicales and other gatherings throughout the winter.

The management has always encouraged unionism in their own works. Most of the skilled employes are members of unions. The open shop is maintained—open for all upon equal terms—but union wages, or better, have always been paid, in addition to which the bonus from profits has been divided.

There is all this, then, and more that I have not mentioned, much to implant or cultivate the mutual interest and the spirit of co-operation; and it is upon this spirit, as I have said, and not upon the physical distribution of the stock that the co-operation which Mr. Nelson would see established, will succeed or fail. From what I saw among the employes and the villagers at Leclaire, I believe he has there a good chance. The people were neither smirk nor conspicuously pious—they were merely healthy and cheerful. They were well off; but, as the factory manager put, they had a "constitutional amount of kicks coming when anything went wrong with them."

There was, fortunately, nothing "model" on the face of them. At the baseball game, Saturday afternoon, the umpire was as complete a "robber" and the opposing pitcher was as "rotten" and as red a "lobster" as such individuals are in towns where good homes are not cheap and easy to obtain and work is less healthful and profitable. The painfully good die young; Leclaire and the spirit of the people living there should be a good risk. But how is Mr. Nelson to impart the higher aim to his customers who shall share his stock and determine largely whether the N. O. Nelson firm shall be a joint-stock or a really co-operative company?

It is the fourth part of the profit taken for philanthropy, which I have so far neglected, which shall here weigh, I believe, to swing the scale—if the scale must be swung after Mr. Nelson is gone—away from joint-stockism, merely, to co-operation.

"The portion taken out for philanthropy is as logical as the provision for homes and for social and sanitary condition." Mr. Nelson said to me—and I take his exact words from an article he had at that time just written for *The Independent*, "A healthy and vigorous corporation composed of able and generous men can well afford to care for its own disabled and at the same time do something toward improving the conditions and relieving the distress of its neighbors. All men have a generous streak if you only touch the right nerve. When philanthropy becomes regularly established as a part of the system of this co-operative corporation, I have faith that the employes and customers will take an honorable pride in maintaining it; they will be glad to contribute to meritorious public uses a portion of the common fund whose beneficent wings promise shelter to them and their loved ones and their neighbors in the day of disaster, against which no one is assured."

It shall be, then, the presence or the absence of this "honorable pride" in perpetuating, not only with the symbols, but with the spirit, the enterprises

of Mr. Nelson, which shall furnish us either with an example of a new social force, a vital democratic spark of equality of opportunity and the fairness of the great foreign societies which have succeeded, or another instance of stock, distributed co-operatively returning to the present norm of more or less individualistic concentration of ownership and control.

At worst, we have here a method—

less grand and extensive than that of Mr. Carnegie, but more methodical, sure and unerring—for the distribution of a fortune for the benefits of others; at best—but perhaps it comes with age and experience greater than mine to have the faith that he has gathered others, who may prove in their lives that man lives to give as well as to get and who may, therefore, perpetuate the work of N. O. Nelson.

The Development of Employers' Associations

By John B. Andrews

Scarcely a day passes without some allusion in the press or by public speakers to the "*new* movement towards the organization of employers." Apparently many have supposed that associations of employers were unknown until within the last three or four years, and every now and then a certain manufacturer in this country is introduced to an audience as "the father of employers' associations." This view of their origin is offset to some extent by the suggestion that the mediæval craft gild was their prototype, but anyone who has studied at all carefully the industrial history of the nineteenth century must fail to agree with either explanation.

ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE MEDIAEVAL GILDS.

The academic theory concerning the analogy of the employers' association and the craft gild may be disposed of readily because of the mixed structure of the craft gild. As Brentano and Cunningham have indicated, and as Sidney and Beatrice Webb have reaffirmed in their exhaustive *History of Trade-Unionism*, the craft gild represented the interests, not of any one class alone, but of the three distinct and

somewhat antagonistic elements of modern society—the capitalist entrepreneur, the manual worker, and the consumer at large. It is plain from Webb's treatment of the subject that, in his opinion, the later displacement of a vertical by a horizontal cleavage of society in which lines are sharply drawn by class consciousness, vitiates any treatment of the employers' association as the analogue of the craft gild.

Modern employers' associations are permanent voluntary organizations of employers for mutual assistance in securing and maintaining for themselves favorable conditions of industry, particularly by united action in matters pertaining to the employment of labor. The name "*Citizens' Alliance*," now so frequently given to such organizations, is no doubt a clever appeal to the sentiment of outsiders, and sometimes with beneficial results, but no one is long deceived by names.

A complete account of the development of employers' associations may not be essential for the purpose of arriving at sound conclusions either as to the effects or utility of the system, or as to the wisdom or folly of certain methods, but no one can hope to understand aright the present relationship of

employer and employe who has not taken the time to inquire into the leading forces responsible for the relations between capital and labor. No one can hope to understand the attitude of trade unionists, who has not gathered through a study of the labor movement the reason for their point of view. Seldom is enough emphasis placed upon the influence of custom in shaping our present problems and institutions. Any work that in the smallest degree contributes to a better understanding of industrial conditions is of some consequence, and it is worth while to attempt to trace quickly, in broad lines, the development of the employers' association movement in England and in the United States.

From the earliest times employers have joined forces to defend themselves against occasional dangers from without or within; but until within the last sixty years, special combinations for the purpose of dealing with labor have hardly ever outlived the temporary necessities that called them into being. It was not until organizations of labor made united action imperative, and not until a better understanding of economic laws resulted in the elimination of the most intense forms of competition among themselves, that employers united in special permanent organizations.

THE FIRST WAGE BARGAINING.

To get the true perspective for the development of this movement, it is necessary to recall for a moment the earlier relations between capital and labor. Through the early mediæval period, from slavery, up through serfdom, by a slow and painful evolution, the laborer became prominent about the middle of the fourteenth century as a *bargaining* wage-earner. Here began the permanent estrangement between the employer and the employed, and out of the difficulty of fixing the wage came the conflict of interest that must continue as long as the pure wage system endures. From the first, one of the most influential causes of inequality was the inability of the wage-earners to

combine, while for nearly five hundred years the wage-payers successfully united in Parliament to keep wages down. Finally, the increasing complexity of factory industry forced the laborer into a desperate struggle for existence, and the employers who had accumulated wealth during the preceding years of prosperity found themselves in possession of arbitrary power. This separation of the classes by economic development was inevitable, and the suffering during the transition period fell with peculiar force upon the poor, but, in England, Parliament throughout this period hindered rather than helped the laborer by a continuous burden of class legislation. Even the Combination Acts of 1799, which made all forms of combinations illegal, could not reach those "tacit, but constant," agreements among employers to keep wages down, that are mentioned by Adam Smith. Couple with this the fact that under the new system of industry an individual employer was as strong as a whole force of workmen, and one begins to appreciate the strength of even occasional temporary combinations of employers.

THE BAN ON COMBINATION REMOVED.

The long and unequal struggle at last drew men of influence to the side of labor. Investigations attracted wide attention to the workmen's struggle for industrial freedom, and the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824 marked an epoch of the greatest importance in the development of the legal relations between employer and employe. From this date onward in England, laborers have been nominally free to combine for mutual benefit, although for fifty years more they were severely hampered by the legal fiction of "restraint of trade." During the quarter of a century following the repeal of the Combination Acts, the employing class had to deal with laborers engaged in erratic visionary attempts to secure widesweeping reforms. Alternating periods of prosperity and depression furnished a severe schooling for the earlier labor organizations, and before the middle of

the century the foundation had been laid for substantial development. The unfortunate and dictatorial language used by the earlier unions of workmen in communicating with their employers brought the latter into united action.

THE FIRST MARSHALLING OF FORCES ON BOTH SIDES.

At a meeting of all classes of employers held in Liverpool in June 1833, they determined to ignore all the demands of the men and to make a deliberate effort to wipe the unions out of existence. For this purpose they publicly announced that in the future they would employ no one who was not ready to sign a formal renunciation of trade unionism. The same plan was adopted by the employers in Manchester, while the employers in the clothing industry at Leeds entered into "the Manufacturers' Bond," binding themselves under penalty to refuse employment to all members of the Clothiers' Union. In 1835 some of the employers formed a Chamber of Commerce primarily to resist further aggressions, and in 1848 the Sheffield Manufacturers' Protection Association secured the conviction and deportation of four members of the Razor Grinders who had destroyed machinery.

In the United States during the early years of the nineteenth century a similar movement was going on. Although it is believed that a "Union Society of Carpenters" at Philadelphia struck for shorter hours in 1791, and we have definite information of the existence of a trades union as early as 1803, such organizations attracted little attention until the second quarter of the century, when they passed through an evolution parallel to that of the revolutionary period described in England. Trade unions were bitterly denounced by the employers of that time, and "a combination of merchants in Boston pledged

themselves to drive the shipwrights, caulkers, and gravers to submission or starvation, and pledged \$20,000 for that purpose." While the great waves of semi-socialistic activity were carrying the laborers onward in their demands for shorter hours, the employers were combining as circumstances required to meet the frequent shocks upon industry. The merchants and ship-owners of Boston held a meeting on May 15, 1832, at which they agreed to "discountenance and check the unlawful combination formed to control the freedom of individuals as to the hours of labor." In a long preamble and resolution signed by the representatives of one hundred and six firms they declared in favor of freedom of competition, and insisted that all combinations to regulate the prices and hours of labor were at all times attended with pernicious results.

Although Parliament, until about 1825, was the tool of the English employing class, it would be unreasonable to suppose that modern employers' associations have sprung at once fully developed into existence. The occasional organizations previous to 1850 undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence upon the movement as it exists to-day.*

PERFECTING THE OPPOSING ORGANIZATIONS.

The period since about the middle of the century both in England and in the United States has been occupied with the general perfection of organization. In England the employers formed in December, 1851 the Central Association of Employers of Operative Engineers, to resist the great Amalgamated Society of Engineers formed the year before. Unprecedented nationalization of the workmen's unions stirred the employers to action and they formed powerful associations to counteract the new

*For example, the "General Association of Employers," of the West Yorkshire coal district, met from time to time in a somewhat secret way all through the second quarter of the century, fixing the price of coal as well as the rate of wages, revising the "black-list," and guarding legislation affecting their interests. In 1858 this association ordered a reduction of fifteen per cent in wages, and the workmen formed a union to oppose the reduction, this being one of the rare occasions upon which laborers have been forced to organize by associated employers.

influence. The frequent strikes and lockouts were attended by very great inconvenience to the public, and the struggle between capital and labor at last came to be considered a matter of great public concern. The general trend of trade union policy of the time is shown in the writings of a representative labor leader (Frederick Jackson) in January, 1867. "Nothing," he declared, "will force the governing classes to recognize the workmen's claim and judge them fairly, until they find them wresting into their own hands real political power." When the Trade Union Act was drafted in 1871, the Master Builders' Association of Leeds bitterly protested against the action of the government in conceding the trade union demands. In the same year a successful five months' strike in Newcastle, conducted by the Nine Hour League, during which *The Times* and *The Spectator* supported the men, so alarmed the employers in all parts of the kingdom that a levy of a shilling for each man employed was made upon the engineering firms to assist the Newcastle employers.

The reform legislation of the early seventies resulted in a multiplication of trades unions and consequent alarm among the employers. At the end of 1873 the National Federation of Associated Employers of Labor, comprising a large proportion of the great captains of industry of the time, was organized, and declared that "the voluntary and intermittent efforts of individual employers, or even employers' associations confined to a single trade or locality" were helpless against "the extraordinary development and elaborate organ-

ization of the trades unions." During the great depression of trade which overshadowed British industry from 1877 to 1880, the capitalists made a strenuous effort to return to the old hours and wages for labor. A private circular issued to the Iron Trades Employers' Association in 1878 stated that "it has appeared to employers of labor that the time has arrived when the superfluous wages which have been dissipated in unproductive consumption must be retrenched, and when the idle hours which have been unprofitably thrown away must be reclaimed to industry and profit by being redirected to reproductive work." And in a secret circular their London secretary wrote, "It has been resolved by a large majority of the Iron Trades Employers' Association, supported by a general agreement among other employers, to give notice in their workshops that the hours of labor shall be increased to the number prevailing before the adoption of the nine hours limit."

It is apparent from the report of the Royal Commission on Labor (1867-69, Report II, 48) that the rigorous methods of trades unions were closely copied by employers' associations. "Nearly all the condemned practices of labor organizations have a very close parallel in those of the employers. Whatever may be the origin, it is plain that the masters' association is the counterpart of the union, its object being the mutual assistance of the members to obtain labor on the most favorable terms."

The following list shows the date of organization of several of the earlier English Employers' Associations:

- 1851....Central Association of Employers of Operative Engineers.
- 1865....East of Scotland Association of Engineers and Iron Founders.
- 1866....Liverpool branch of National Association of Master Builders.
- 1866....Association of the Leather Trade.
- 1871....South Staffordshire Iron Masters' Association (rules adopted).
- 1873....Federation of Associated Employers of Labor.
- 1873....Cleveland Mine Owners' Association (rules adopted).
- 1874....Hull branch of Iron Trades Employers' Association.
- 1876....North Wales Coal Owners' Association.
- 1876....Cleveland Iron Masters' Association (rules adopted).
- 1877....Derbyshire, Nottingham, Leicestershire Colliery Owners' Assoc.
- 1879....Durham Coal Owners' Association (rules passed).
- 1888....Central Assoc. Iron Trades Employers' Assoc. (rules revised).
- 1888....North of England Iron Manufacturers' Assoc. (rules revised).

- 1889....National Association of Colliery Managers. (United Kingdom).
 1889....S. Wales, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire Tin Plate Makers.
 1890....West Cumberland Ironmasters' Association (rules adopted).
 1891....West Cumberland Coal Owners' Association (rules adopted).

The table below shows in what proportion the leading industries contributed to the total number of associations of employers in the United Kingdom at the end of 1900*:

Trades	Federations and National Associations	Local Associations			Total
		England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	
Building	14	324	78	11	427
Mining & Quarrying	2	23	8		33
Metal, Engineering & Shipping	6	82	16	1	105
Textile	4	37	3	1	45
Clothing	3	52	11	6	168
Parliamentary and others	2	1			3
Grand Total	43	633	152	25	853

*Condensed from House of Commons Report, 1901, Vol. 73, p. 24.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA.

While the same process of amalgamation, nationalization, and federation, has gone on in the United States during the past fifty years, several forces, including the Civil War and the concentration of industry, have delayed the movement to a considerable extent. Although the New York Association of Master Printers was formed in 1862, and an important attempt as early as 1865 to arbitrate differences in the mining regions of Pennsylvania and Ohio seemed promising at the time, little of permanent value was actually done to show what the employers might accomplish by united action in the settlement of industrial disputes. On June 19, 1872, four hundred employers in New York held a conference to secure concerted action for the maintenance of the ten hour system, and during the same year in some places the manufacturers combined, binding themselves in one instance to the sum of \$1,000 each to break up the organizations of the workmen. Employers in several trades gradually learned the benefits of united action in dealing with their employees, "not only in giving additional strength,

but also in securing more uniform cost of labor, and consequently more equal competition." The Master Builders' Association was formed in New York in 1884, to make a stand against the Bricklayers' Unions then on strike. In the spring of 1885 a combination composed of several manufacturers was formed in an attempt to get all the New England manufacturers to join with them to reduce wages fifteen per cent in granite work. During the same year the manufacturers of Barre formed a combination to crush out unionism in Vermont, and the National Grange sent greetings and sympathy to members of the Knights of Labor discharged for such membership by the Manufacturers' Association of Brockton, Massachusetts.

With the beginning of the decline of the Knights of Labor and the reorganization of the American Federation of Labor in 1886, an impetus was given to the movement toward the organization of employers. A reflection of the best educated sentiment of that time may be gathered from the first annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, issued in that year. "There cannot be much to fear in the complete

organization of the employers on the one hand and employees on the other; in fact there is great hope in such organization, for then each force must treat with the other through intelligent representatives, and this would result in doing away with passion, with excitement, and all that comes of the endeavor of a great body of men to treat with the proprietors individually. * * * The most thoughtful of employers and employees have full faith that out of complete organization will come a better state of affairs than now exists." That feelings of hostility to organized labor were general, however, may be inferred from published opinions of the time. The National Association of Builders held its first annual meeting at Chicago in March, 1887, and in a pamphlet issued by the executive committee in 1891 the statement was made that in their efforts to harmonize the interests of employer and employe they had shown a marked departure from the usual treatment of the subject, inasmuch as the characteristic of antagonism to the organized effort of the workmen had been eliminated.

CONCENTRATION INTO NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYERS.

The next few years were strongly educational ones for the employers, who were looking forward to the further concentration of industry with no little apprehension. An indication of need of a growing feeling of common interest among employers is noted in the correspondence between the officers of different associations. In New York, in 1892, the secretary of the Building Material Dealers' Association wrote to the Mason Builders' Association that the strike among their workmen had been declared off. In December of the same year the Mason Builders' Association received a communication from the secretary of the Hod-Hoisting Employers, saying that they had succeeded in making an agreement with the United Association of Engineers.

The following list indicates the time of formation of a few of the more im-

portant National Associations of Employers in the United States:

- 1875....United States Potters' Association.
(First convention, Jan. 13, 1875).
- 1885....United Typothetae of America.
(Official date, Oct. 18, 1887).
- 1886....Stove Founders' National Defense Association.
- 1889....American Boiler Manufacturers' Association.
- 1892....National Stove Founders' Association.
- 1895....National Association of Manufacturers.
- 1896....American Foundrymen's Association.
- 1898....National Founder's Association.
- 1899....National Metal Trades Association.
- 1899....Association of American Advertisers.
- 1903....National Association of Marble Dealers. (Incorporated, 1904).

The Dayton Employers' Association is probably the oldest local organization formed for the widely advertised purpose of counteracting the influences of organized labor. The number of such local employers' associations was comparatively small before the winter of 1902-3, when under the awakening of interest caused by the great coal strike they increased so rapidly that "in order to prevent so far as possible the duplication of work performed by the several associations, and also to unify their strength for specific ends," there was formed on October 29, 1903, the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. It is interesting to note that this great federation of employers' associations in the United States was formed just thirty years later than the English Federation of Associated Employers' of Labor.

During the last three years the organization of employers has gone on very rapidly, chiefly to meet the demands of organized labor. These organizations are known as Trades Associations, Citizens' Alliances, Employers' Councils, and Employers' Associations. In December, 1903 the Citizens' Industrial Association published a list of such organizations containing sixty national associations, sixty-six district and state associations, and three hundred and thirty-five local organizations.

PARALLELING THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

That the centralization of labor unions should be followed by a similar centralization of employers, was inevitable, and the best thinkers among employers insist upon the necessity of following closely the lines blazed by the workingmen's organizations. Mr. F. P. Bagley, in an address before the National Conference on Industrial Conciliation, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, at Chicago, in December, 1900, said, "The rapacity and cupidity of employers have forced labor to organize to protect the individual. The extreme action of organized labor has made necessary organizations of employers, in order that the rights of the individual manufacturer may be preserved;" and as a result of these movements "there is a mutual regard for each others rights, born of the respect for the power that lies latent in the others organization."

This combination of employers does not awaken the same public apprehension as did the similar combination of workmen a generation ago. The people have learned that systematic action is a requisite of efficiency in our modern industrial system, and the conservative leaders of both classes hail the perfection of organization as the most efficient remedy for their industrial strife. Among the more radical employers, however, there is a feeling of enmity which leads them, while protesting that they come not to destroy, to strike with full force at the very roots of trades unionism.

FIGHTING FUNDAMENTALS VS. FIGHTING ABUSES OF TRADE UNIONISM.

Employers' associations which concern themselves primarily with the regulation of the conditions of employment, fall into two groups, determined by their attitude toward organized labor. One type is organized in hostility to many of the fundamentals of

trades unionism and tends to discourage collective bargaining. These organizations furnish, when brought face to face with organized labor, the essentials of a desperate struggle, but they are becoming less radical under the educational influences of associated effort. The second type is organized for defense against the abuses of organized labor, and has already accomplished much. The most influential of this class are the earlier organizations which realize the uselessness of attempting to crush trades unions, and would not do so if they could. The best and most influential minds are everywhere beginning to assert that opposition to either federations of labor or of capital should be directed against their abuses, not against the principle itself. As the employers perfect their organization, both sides will become strong enough to resist injustice and out of a better knowledge of one another's strength will come a condition of affairs closely akin to armed peace. This throws upon the leaders a tremendous responsibility, and the hope of future industrial peace must depend in an ever increasing degree upon the extent to which they realize their social obligations. Employers must be compelled to recognize property as a social trust, and to manage their "own business" not always in their "own way," but as they *ought*. A great advance has been made in this direction during the last one hundred years as the history of factory legislation will show, and in recent years with large acquisitions of wealth a tendency has developed among the very rich to "give hostages to fortune" by providing for various needs of society through direct forms of benevolence. This is encouraging to the extent that it indicates a greater willingness to respect the social side of private property. In many ways powerful interests have recognized the wisdom of "winning their way by yielding to the tide," but frequently their dogged opposition to public welfare measures gives the lie to their vociferous platitudes on "individual liberty" and "patriotism."

MATCH ORGANIZATION WITH ORGANIZA-
TION AND LET THE PUBLIC HOLD
THE BALANCE.

These words by one of the most prominent organizers in the movement are significant: "I do not know of a more responsible duty or greater opportunity for usefulness than the education of the masses concerning this question, the solution of which involves not only the prosperity of the country, but the perpetuity of our form of government." It is evident that a few, at least, of the prominent association members appreciate the necessity for broad-minded action. That there are others who through shortsighted and selfish methods would further complicate the situation by exciting useless antagonism must be evident to anyone who reads their speeches or glances through the columns of the daily press. Both money and brains are at the disposal of the capitalists, and whether or not these two powerful agencies are to be combined in a crusade which good citizenship can approve, depends again upon the kind of leadership that these associations choose. Dark days of bitter conflict are made more probable by the attitude which some of the more radical employers assume in putting their ideas before the people. But many employers have modified their views with the clearer understanding that comes from contact with other minds, and thus the

primary educational work of the associations is constantly being done. The conviction is becoming thoroughly established that the most efficient means of avoiding despotic disturbances of industrial peace, is to match organization with organization. When we have trained minds matched against trained minds, the vast majority of such disputes will be quietly and quickly adjusted.

But under the competitive system of industry, the great third party or "the public" tends to become the victim of such agreements. With every gain through saving in the cost of production, the employer's impulse is to keep as much as possible of the additional increment for himself; the tendency of the employe is to demand a share of it in the form of higher wages; and "the public" expects a benefit in reduced prices. Each one of these three claims has a basis for its justification, but with the perfection of balance between organizations of employers on one side and employees on the other, it becomes easier in any monopolized industry to satisfy the demands of the first two claimants at the expense of the third. That this policy has been successful both in England and in the United States, is shown by Professor Jeremiah Jenks, who thinks it is probable that the tendency will increase, and that the remedy is legislation.

Work

By W. Kee Maxwell

We thank thee, Lord, for work, that binds
the days
Into an ordered plan and keeps our ways
Attuned to system; grasps our scattered powers
And welds them into strength; takes fragment hours
And weaves them into fabrics strong and fair.
What matter if the work we do shall bring
No meed of wealth or praise from seer or king?
The sculptor, knowing that his dream in stone

Will perish e'er the last loved stroke is done,
Works on; nor lets that fate his skill impair.

For work is work's reward; the primal curse
A blessing is become; the universe
Proclaims that work is life and rest, decay.
The very birds toil when they seem to play,
Nor flower nor vine their bidden office shirk.
Lo, sweat is better for the mortal brow
Than crowns; for (how, we know not, but somehow)

The diadems are ever lined with thorns;
But he whose brow God's bidden sweat adorns

Is blessed thrice.

God give us daily work.

A Year of Municipal Advance

EDITOR'S NOTE: The growing number of those who are devoting time and attention to municipal affairs and problems, whether it be as public spirited citizens seeking merely to discharge their civic duties in an effective way for the improvement of local conditions, with only a general interest in the movement throughout the country, or as close observers and students of the subject in all its phases and varying complexities, have come to look forward each year to the annual survey of the situation presented by Secretary Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the National Municipal League. Its comprehensive view indicates, as its title reads, "A Year of Municipal Advance," and there is abundant reason for optimism.

The meeting this year was held in New York where the League enjoyed the hospitality of the City Club, the New York Woman's Municipal League and the League for Political Education. The papers dealt with such matters as the school and citizenship, instruction in civics, problems of municipal accounting and taxation, nomination reform, the police problem, and special conditions such as the Minneapolis situation, Los Angeles and the experiment of the "recall," and the state of affairs in the Canadian municipalities. The men who presented these papers were among the best informed men in the country on their respective lines.

We here present a synopsis of Mr. Woodruff's report.

THE GROWTH OF THE INDEPENDENT VOTE.

Probably nothing in the world of politics has been commented upon so widely during the last few months as has the marked and significant prevalence of independent voting. The growing disinclination on the part of very considerable portions of the electorate to be bound rigidly by party ties has been especially noteworthy in the case of at least three state elections, and editors and publicists from one coast to the other have discussed at length the well known instances of Massachusetts, Minnesota and Missouri. It has remained for Secretary Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of the National Municipal League, to sum up and gather together in one comprehensive survey the great mass of interesting information that shows how thoroughly this movement has permeated many of our cities and smaller towns. The most striking instances are found by Mr. Woodruff to be Chicago and Cleveland. In the former city Mayor Dunne was elected on the democratic ticket by a plurality of 25,000 although Roosevelt received a majority of 105,000 in November. The result was due to the conviction on the part of the voters that Mr. Dunne's traction policy was best. Cleveland gave Roosevelt a plurality of 34,000, at the same time electing by a plurality of 2,500 the democratic candidate for auditor, who had been endorsed by the Cleveland Municipal Association.

Toledo went for Roosevelt heavily, but the local republican organization, controlled by the street railway interests, was dealt with summarily by the aroused voters. Seventeen Iowa cities elected citizen's or independent tickets, and nine others gave a partial success to similar candidacies. In Indiana also seventeen cities, ordinarily republican, elected democratic local officials although these communities helped to swell the republican vote in the federal election. In Kansas a number of democratic mayors were elected in republican cities while in some other cases the reverse was true. Ottawa, which is overwhelmingly republican, elected a democratic mayor on municipal ownership issues. Portland, Oregon, showed its independence by electing a democratic sheriff, who had been an aggressive factor for good government in the county, at the same time giving Roosevelt a large majority. A non-partisan school board was elected in Los Angeles, and a democratic street superintendent in the face of a 12,000 plurality for Roosevelt. The success of Judge Lindsey of Juvenile court fame, in Denver was astonishing for he secured 53,000 out of a possible 54,500 votes.

Several Pennsylvania cities manifested an encouraging reluctance to let the state republican machine dominate their local governments. But the most extraordinary condition of all developed in Harrisburg. The republican organization supported the democratic may-

orality candidate with whom it had a close affiliation; and Mayor McCormick, a democrat, supported the republican candidate because he was the cleaner and the most reputable of the two. The result was that although a number of prominent republicans repudiated their own candidate and openly supported the democratic candidate, the republican candidate was elected by a very substantial majority.

UPROOTING CORRUPTION.

After commenting upon the great educative influence of articles in the magazines and journals laying bare the corruption and inefficiency to be found in our municipalities, emphasizing the truth that "an adequate statement of the problem is half its solution," Mr. Woodruff reaffirms what everyone who really thinks upon the matter must agree to, that such exposures indicate the fact, not that conditions are growing worse, but that the people are "awakening to the iniquity of practices that in past years have been regarded as matters of course or as beyond remedy"—a state of public mind that offers great hope for the future and that has already accomplished much improvement as all know. Three cities are taken as typical of the purging process that happily has gone on in not a few other communities.

In Allegheny a well planned and executed crusade resulted in the indictment of over 100 men and women for various offences and for official connivance in violation of city ordinances and state laws. The Supt. of Police was convicted of criminal extortion, and a few days later a jury found a street commissioner guilty of aiding and abetting the maintenance of a disorderly house.

As a result of the activities of the Scranton Municipal League forty liquor dealers of that city entered into an agreement "unparalleled in municipal history so far as we recollect, to the effect that they would contribute \$5000 to the League to prosecute either the contributors to the fund or such other offenders as might be guilty of violating the liquor laws during the next

three years. This most remarkable agreement was the outcome of a vigorous campaign begun early last year to secure evidence as to the violation of the liquor laws. Proceedings were brought to have 42 licenses revoked, and then the Pennsylvania Brewing Company, which supplied most of the beer to the saloons, negotiated the agreement mentioned, which was conditioned upon the rules to revoke being withdrawn." This phenomenal incident recalls to mind the result of a fight made several years ago by the League, by which "a large group of boodling aldermen were compelled to resign their offices and to agree to refrain from activity in politics for a period of years, and to present the money which they had illegally received to charitable purposes. This agreement created some comment at the time, though it was justified by the fact that it included all the accused and suspected officials, even though the cases against some were incomplete, and resulted in a cleansing of the council and a marked improvement in local conditions."

A war against bribery brought forth some noteworthy results in Milwaukee. "A former alderman was convicted of accepting a bribe of \$200 for his influence in securing the passage of an ordinance granting a passage way to a well known firm of merchants over a public alley way. Another alderman was convicted of accepting a bribe of \$80 to influence his vote on an ordinance granting side track privileges to a manufacturing plant. The county superintendent was convicted for receiving a bribe of \$300 to influence his vote on the granting of an electric light contract for the Court-house. A building inspector was convicted of accepting a bribe of \$1500 paid by a brewing company to escape the erection of a fire-wall in one of its buildings. A member of the board of public works was convicted for accepting a bribe of \$800 to influence his vote in making the award of architectural work for a school building. Another county supervisor was convicted of receiving a bribe of \$500. A deputy water registrar was

convicted of election frauds, and 80 public officials are awaiting trial."

DISCOURAGEMENTS.

Reprehensible and depressing was the election of the two Curley brothers of Boston, both of whom had just before been convicted of impersonating two other men at a civil service examination for letter carriers. One brother, Thos. F., was elected to the Mass. House of Representatives, which fortunately had the self-respect to expel him. But the election of James M. was far more significant because he was elected as an alderman-at-large by the voters of the entire city.

Another discouragement was the apathy exhibited at the February election in Philadelphia. "Out of a total voting population of 390,948 but 221,390 voters took the trouble of exercising their right or of discharging their duty as citizens. As a consequence the republican organization not only overwhelmingly elected its own candidates, but was able to divert a sufficient number of votes from them to elect the democratic candidates as minority representatives over the popular and efficient candidates of the City Party. The statistics of the vote constitute a complete explanation of the continued domination of the republican organization in local politics."

TAMMANY'S BEST ADMINISTRATION.

Mayor McCellan has given New York City an administration that is a vast improvement over previous ones controlled by Tammany, and although it cannot be said to equal that of Mayor Low, it certainly has not proved to be the reaction that was feared. With the exception of his approval of the notorious Remsen gas bill, his action on legislation submitted to him has been very generally commended. "While many of Mr. McClellan's appointees are men of excellent personal character and interested in their work, still they are not so well qualified by reason of their political affiliations and environment to create a new standard of administrative efficiency or to inaugurate constructive work." The splendid achievement of

the Low administration in the tenement house department brought about by the painstaking and thorough constructive work of Messrs. De Forest and Veiller, has left that department in such smooth running shape that there was no reason why the same standard of efficiency should not be maintained. And although the Tammany official is likely to be primarily interested only in "holding his job," the Mayor and his colleagues must be credited with no such slump in this department as was anticipated by some.

The civil service reform attitude of the administration has been vacillating. First it was responsible for a very incompetent board that went so far as to connive at violations of the law. Then—when this was brought to light—Mr. McClellan redeemed himself by appointing an effective board of three with Bird S. Coler at the head. This commission proved far too conscientious in the discharge of its duties to suit a Tammany administration, and was replaced by men of an inoffensive and easy-going complacency towards the shortcomings of public servants.

A significant and healthful incident was the uprising headed by the East Side Civic Club against Judge Bolte, whose administration of justice in a municipal court was "oppressive, unfair and unbecoming." The evil influence of a prejudiced and unfair court that comes into closest touch with the mass of the people is incalculable in its generation of disrespect for all law. It is therefore especially gratifying to witness the people's insistent demand for honesty and true justice, which in this case effected the removal of the obnoxious judge.

DOMINEERING INSOLENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MACHINE.

The Pennsylvania state republican organization has been trying its hand at "ripping" up the Philadelphia charter, after having "ripped" up the local governments of Pittsburg, Scranton and Allegheny. The "Bullitt Bill" as the charter has been known during twenty years has excellent provisions al-

though the electorate has not taken full advantage of them. Generally speaking, the strong men elected have not been honest, and the honest ones have been weak. The time seemed to be coming when "the electorate would demand a strong *and* honest man." Evidently the managers of the machine foresaw such a possibility and they have passed a series of bills taking away from the mayor the power to appoint the directors of the several departments and vesting that power in the councils of the city, in short to destroy the co-ordination and concentration which were the conspicuous and successful features of the Bullitt Bill, and to revert to the former condition of chaos. This counteracting legislation was railroaded through although public opinion was well nigh unanimous against it. Because it happened to suit the purposes of the machine to do the opposite thing in Pittsburg, power was taken from the council of that city and vested in the mayor, the argument being the plain unvarnished statement, the true force of which may be surmised, "that in Pittsburg the mayor did not have enough power while in Philadelphia he had too much."

HARRISBURG AND MAYOR MCCORMICK.

Two administrations conducted on lines of graft, without regard to law, order or common decency, had left Harrisburg in a demoralized condition. Extortion and blackmail existed in the police department and arrested persons were taken to the mayor's office at all hours of the day or night and without a hearing and discharged on payment of money. Disorderly houses abounded under police protection and the town was wide open. The three years that Mr. McCormick have so far served show a great change. A thoroughly efficient disciplinarian was put at the head of the police and the whole department was soon brought to a wholesome condition free from political manipulation. The method of police hearings and records was reformed and an illustration of the difference is seen in the fact that Mayor McCormick turned

in to the city treasury \$5,000 a year in fines and costs, his predecessor having turned in only \$178.74 in three years.

Jail commitments had been used to turn a large amount of graft into the pockets of the warden who received 25c a day for each man, and who habitually charged the city for two days' fees if a tramp came in after supper one day and left after the scanty breakfast the next. During the last year of the term of the previous administration there were more than 5000 of these commitments. This wholesale practice has been stopped.

Mr. McCormick has taken a firm stand on the matter of public franchises. When in the council he successfully led a fight that has resulted in the payment of \$10,000 a year from a telephone company that received a franchise, which company was also required to give a bond for \$100,000 not to sell out to nor consolidate with the rival company and to give the subscribers in the city services to any point in the county without extra charge. Similarly an electric light company was compelled to pay \$10,000 a year and to place its wires underground in the central portion of the city. The Pennsylvania Railroad agreed, in return for the concession made in the vacating of a desired street, to abolish a dangerous grade crossing and build a subway. The Harrisburg Traction Company was made to pay the city \$5000 for the privilege of running its tracks through the Market Street Subway which had been constructed partly at the expense of the Penn. and the Phila. and Reading Railroads and partly at the expense of the city. After his inauguration Mr. McCormick with the support of the daily papers got an ordinance passed greatly increasing the revenue to the city from the Harrisburg Traction Company, now the Central Pennsylvania Traction Company. Having an absolute monopoly of all the streets in the city, by purchase, by consolidation with and by perpetual lease of the other street railway companies, this corporation desired to use certain new streets and to double

track others. In view of these concessions, although persistent opposition was encountered from the company and all its friends, Mr. McCormick secured the passage of an ordinance increasing the compensation to the city from 3-4 of one per cent to 3 per cent of its gross receipts, which amounts to \$12,000 a year and is constantly increasing.

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT.

The city of Washington is taken as an example of the growing spirit to establish parks in something like a comprehensive system and to otherwise beautify the municipality and its environs. In this connection an effective quotation is made from Mr. James Bryce's papers on "America Revisited," comparing this movement in England and in America. Mr. Bryce says that village improvement societies do not exist in England as they do here and declares that no city in England has "surrounded itself with such a superb ring of parks and open spaces, some hilly and rocky, some covered with wood, some studded with lakes, as Boston now possesses. America used to be pointed at by European censors as a country where utility is everything and beauty nothing. No one could make such a criticism now."

CIVIC NEWSPAPERS.

A promising development is seen in the valuable service that is being rendered to their respective communities by the two publications that are devoting their space and influence to the local problems. The *Citizens' Bulletin* in Cincinnati is entering upon its third volume and has brought out the facts concerning existing conditions, criticised and interpreted municipal events, and has created for itself an important place as a factor for good government. *Civic News* in Grand Rapids has been started by the Civic Club of that city. Through it people interested in knowing the truth concerning municipal affairs in Grand Rapids are able to find a fair comprehensive and accurate account, something that the regular dailies have seemed almost to be conspiring together to withhold from the citizens.

FROM VARIOUS CENTERS.

Reports from all around the circle seem to show a general advance. In Cleveland Mayor Johnson has consistently sustained the merit system in the water, police and fire departments and is on record as favoring the extension of the civil service just as far as public sentiment rallies to his support. With his characteristic fearlessness he has investigated in a wholesale way charges of bribery against members of the city council.

Chicago's Municipal Voters' League lost a little ground, but the results were such that they would have been regarded as an overwhelming triumph in any other community. Of 36 aldermen elected 18 had the League's endorsement, 8 were elected whom the League fought, and the other 10 were men who merely were not preferred over their opponents. Some of the notorious characters, as "Johnnie" Powers, scraped in under small majorities compared to those of the old days. During the year an alderman made charges of corruption against his colleagues and backed down when forced to a test. "The affair ended with the pleasant proof that Chicago has a legislative body that resents imputations on its integrity and is ready to protect it by taking up and exposing any attempt at corruption." The four terms of Mayor Harrison, although not ideal in many ways, were bulwarks against the attempted encroachments of the traction companies, and the recent election has, as everyone knows, ensured beyond a peradventure the policy for municipal ownership that had been already settled by the people and that would have triumphed in the election of either Mr. Harlan or the successful candidate, Mayor Dunne.

Minneapolis showed its appreciation of the independent stand taken by Acting Mayor Jones after the Ames scandals, by returning him as Mayor although the republican organization was so disgruntled at his nomination that they supported the democratic opponent. The city now has a Municipal

Voters' League patterned after the Chicago organization.

The excellent administrations of Mayor Rolla Wells in St. Louis will be continued in his new term and the election was another blow at the corrupt ring whose nefarious practices were exposed and punished by Mr. Folk.

Galveston's commission that has been bringing order out of the chaos wrought by the flood has completed another year of effective work. The city's floating indebtedness has been almost wiped out by good business administration and without the issuance of bonds. The city has rebuilt its city hall, engine houses, water works, pumping plant, and repaved with bricks nearly all its business streets, besides purchasing the city's sewerage plant at a cost of \$93,000.

The Merchants' Association of San Francisco continues to lead the fight for higher municipal standards in that city. The past year it has made a special effort to purify the election methods of the city. Public spirited members have done good service at the polls and many of those who have sought to debauch the ballot have been brought to book. "The example of a great business body representing the commercial interests of the community, standing resolutely for the purification of the city's politics, for the bringing of wrong doers to justice and for the purging of the city from all election frauds, is an example of civic patriotism worthy of the highest commendation and of the most widespread emulation."

In Los Angeles a most interesting experiment has been tried. The charter of the city provided that whenever 25 per cent of the registered voters of the city desires to recall any city officer, they may draw up a petition to that effect and the city council must thereupon call an election within 40 days. In the case of an officer representing only a portion of the city, as for instance a councilman, 25 per cent of the registered voters of his ward must sign. The officer whom it is sought to recall is placed on the ticket for re-election

unless he refuses to run, and other nominations may be made against him by the same process as though the vacancy were a regular one. A weak councilman in a working and middle class ward, who had been guilty of improper use of his official influence in his private business and who had voted to award the city printing contract in an unwise way, was selected as the officer upon whom the test case should be made. (The California Supreme Court has since decided the recall to be unconstitutional.) Although the affected councilman used every resource in his power and received the active support of the utility corporations which always busy themselves with local politics, he was defeated for re-election.

A feature of Mr. Woodruff's review is the compilation of numerous expressions of opinion which he secured from editors, publicists, students and practical workers along municipal lines on the general condition of municipal affairs throughout the country. These, almost without exception testify to the great strides that have been made in recent years and to the keener interest that is being taken by everyone. One goes so far as to call the new awakening a "civic revival." A new sign of the times is to be seen in the tendency of the clubs and organizations of certain localities to associate for the general welfare of the community and to bring more weight to bear in furthering reforms upon the advisability of which everyone is agreed. In all this phase of endeavor the federations of women's clubs are taking an active interest. Among the events of the year that should be mentioned in a survey, be it ever so fragmentary, is the Civic Day that was held at the St. Louis Exposition. The occasion served to bring together representatives of the leading municipal organizations throughout the country and resulted in a series of papers descriptive of their aims and accomplished work, and moreover served to bring them into closer touch and contact and make for a larger degree of co-operation.

Strikes and The Remedy

By Henry Waldorf Francis

In all Strikes there are three interested factors: Employer, Employee and the Public. If the theory of Republican institutions is correct the Public being the majority ought to govern and its interest be paramount. Instead, little, if any, regard is paid to it though it is an inevitable sequence that when the Public suffers the class distinctively called the "laboring" class must suffer with it; hence Strikes even when successful are waged at a very dear cost to all concerned. Certainly when the result of a successful Strike is necessarily an increase in the cost of living a nominal increase of wage is a deceptive victory since what the laborer receives with one hand he has to pay out—often more—with the other; and when a Strike is not successful the intermediate loss to the Employers is almost always greater than it would have cost them if they had yielded to labor's demands. Nothing can be more plainly evident than that Strikes as at present conducted are a most unprofitable and unsatisfactory method of adjusting disputes. They settle nothing and are only truces in warfare even when adjusted.

The fundamental error in the contests between Capital and Labor is the assumption so largely prevalent that their interests are absolutely and wholly antagonistic. At first blush this—the rallying cry of Socialism—seems to be truth, but it entirely overlooks important and material facts. Nothing is so essential to the welfare of Capital as stability and peace and the prosperity of the masses so that they may have the power to purchase. Unless the people have this power—briefly, unless prosperity is general and not confined to a few—Capital suffers since the manufacturer and the railroad and all employing interests are dependent upon the consumption of production. It is to Capital's interest that Labor should be employed and fairly remunerated. The

slave is not a consumer. Whatever his productive power may be—and experience has demonstrated it to be the lowest—he has no purchase power, and it is the purchasing power Capital must depend upon for increase and profit. High wages do not produce bad times—the laboring class is a spending class—nor does increased cost of living if people have the means to meet it. It is the lessening of the spending and purchasing power by decreased wages and non-employment of labor, and the accumulation of money in the hands of a few, which results in the condition known as "bad business" or "hard times." High wages are a good thing for the community. Labor employed at a just and good remuneration makes times good for everybody; unemployed, badly paid, the reverse is true and the mercantile community suffers with the laborer. It is very much better for all concerned—for the public at large—that the manufacturer's profit should be small and the wages he pays fair, than that his profit—nominal—should be excessive and wages below the power to purchase what he manufactures.

The simple truth is that Capital is far more dependent upon Labor than Labor upon Capital. Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Morgan or Mr. Gould cast upon a desert island would starve to death though gold dollars were piled mountain high around them unless by the labor of their hands they could procure food. Capital itself is only accumulated labor stored.

Again, there is no truth more certain than that the welfare of one is the welfare of all. The incontrovertible proof of this is seen during the periods of depression which follow a panic, over production, so-called, and a general failure of the crops.

It is most important that the mischievous heresy that the interests of Labor and Capital are wholly antagonistic should be destroyed, and that the

interdependence of Capital and Labor should become rooted in men's minds before we can have a lasting settlement of labor disputes or devise a remedy for Strikes that will be enduring and effective.

There are certain elementary principles of right which must be conceded. Among these is the right of the individual to employ whom he pleases upon such terms as may be agreed. But in the case of corporations, which are creations of the Public, this right should be restricted. Thus railroad companies should be prohibited from allowing, much less compelling, such employees as Engineers, Conductors, Brakemen and Switchmen from working over a certain number of hours consecutively since the safety of the Public is involved; and from the same consideration they should not be allowed to place wages at such a scale as to result in inefficient service.

Again, this right should be subject to that principle which is the foundation stone of a Republic, "the will of the majority"—"the greatest good of the greatest number." And again, it is not true that we can do with our own what we please. It is a well-recognized principle of law that one must so use his property as not to injure others. Why should not this principle apply to Money?

But it must likewise be conceded that the individual has the right to say for whom he will work and upon what terms; still, when he undertakes to prevent others from exercising this same right he equitably forfeits consideration and, in a sense, becomes a public enemy. Here, also, however, a limitation must be recognized, that of the right of self-protection. This limitation justifies Union men in refusing to work with non-Union men and in insisting upon the recognition of labor organizations. No one can deny the right of Employers to combine in lawful associations for mutual benefit; equally the right must be conceded to Employees. It is quite clear that no Employers' Association would fraternize with antagonistic interests or

would not do all in its power to prevent its own destruction by rendering nugatory hostile efforts or attacks of independent Employers who should for their personal benefit try to break it down: Why should labor be expected to act differently? The least reflection makes it evident that the so-called "independent laborer" is a menace to the existence of a Union. The notion of "Absolute Independence" is a fallacy. There is no such condition as "absolute independence" even among savages much less in civilized society where each is obliged to surrender something to the whole. I remember a student at Columbia College Law School once asking the late Professor Dwight, "what right has any one to make laws for me?" and the Professor's reply: "No one will prevent you from going into the wood and being a hermit if you wish to!"

If a Union allows an Employer to hire labor not in sympathy with it, it puts it within his power to gradually displace his Union laborers and work the destruction of the Union. Hence there are two sides to the question of "the right of the individual" and there comes in the Republican principle of "the individual must give way to the Public"—upon which all civilized society rests. It is to the interest of the Public that the laborer should be prosperous, that he should not be made a pauper or degraded. This principle we have recognized in our "Chinese Exclusion," and to some extent—which will have to be increased—in our Immigration laws. If it is right that the American laborer should be protected against the competition of "Chinese cheap labor" and of the slave, it is equally right that he should be protected—or be permitted to protect himself by Unions—against the ignorant pauper labor of Europe which if allowed full competition would quickly drag him down to its level making, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "whoever is once a hired laborer fixed in that condition for life"—essentially an un-American idea. The wholesale denunciation of Unions as "destructive of individual liberty,"

while apparently sound is not warranted and is blind both to the right of Self-Protection and the interest of the Public; and instead of applauding certain men who in place of endeavoring to cultivate amicable relations, at every opportunity savagely declare they mean to "kill organized labor," we should treat them as firebrands and public enemies. Bishop Spalding declares that "the Union movement has been for good always."

However many and grievous have been and are at present the mistakes made and injustices done, no one who is at all conversant with labor conditions as they exist to-day and as they were fifty years ago can deny that labor organizations have vastly improved the condition of the masses. To condemn all labor because of sporadic cases of violence and excesses, or because of the reckless acts of a few hot-heads is as sensible as it would be to condemn the entire people of the United States because of the lamentable Italian massacre at New Orleans or the bloody mountain feuds in Kentucky. Cases of personal violence are to be expected in all disputes involving large numbers of men, especially uneducated men. We have even heard of cases of personal violence in the halls of Congress but they were not followed by a demand for the suppression of that body. Principle and right are not changed by riotous outbreaks nor should their discussion be affected by them.

But there is still another right: that of the Public to protect itself against injury by any class of individuals, and this right is—or should be—paramount.

The question is how are the rights of these various interests to be protected in accord with reason and justice? What, in other words, is the remedy for Strikes?

First:—Authorize all labor organizations to become corporations under a law to be specially devised for the purpose. Such a law should be very simple and consist principally in bestowing a name upon the body and giving it all the rights and privileges

conferred upon business, social and charitable organizations by the general laws, with full power to make and alter by-laws for its government as it may see fit. The internal organization and management should be left absolutely unrestricted within recognized rules, no reports should be required, no cost or fees of any kind should be attached to incorporating and no taxes or expenses exacted except upon real estate owned by the corporation. Expressly confer upon it as rights the powers now exercised by Unions and admitted to be legal, and protect it in their exercise, and *prohibit any man or men from acting as a committee, officer or agent of any UNINCORPORATED body for the purpose of making demands in a dispute between an Employer and his Employees, except as hereinafter stated...*

This suggestion is not for compulsory incorporation and does not prevent unincorporated Unions from existing. It offers inducements to incorporate by giving legal recognition and protection to rights and privileges which is withheld from unincorporated associations. The latter could "strike," its members could stand together and assist each other, but its leaders could not, as frequently happens now, control dissenting members—often a timid majority—against their will. The unincorporated Union would have to be *quiescent* whereas the incorporated could act by officers and use all proper, active means to accomplish its purpose. Just as corporations have privileges not enjoyed by individuals the incorporated Union could be given privileges denied the unincorporated, which would be an application of the same legal principle which distinguishes between incorporated and unincorporated societies, such as the Express companies. The power of unwise, irresponsible, dictatorial leaders would be curbed, the tyrannous demands they now frequently make would be controlled and the advantages of incorporation made so manifest that there can be no doubt all Unions would soon see the wisdom of incorporating.

The main objection which has been raised by labor leaders to incorporating appears to be the fear of liability for damages, but recent decisions both in England and this country have settled that such a liability applies fully to unincorporated unions. Incorporation would not increase the responsibility of the association but would decrease the individual liability of members, a corporate liability taking the place of the severe liabilities of a partnership. Would not this be greatly to the interest of the individual laborer now personally liable in damages for all unlawful acts of his Union? Further, from a moral standpoint Unions should be as willing to assume responsibility for their acts as they are to demand that Employers should be held accountable for theirs.

Again, as the result of incorporation the complaints of labor against the law and the courts would be obviated. The tortuous "law of conspiracy" so often invoked and so uncertainly administered would lose its terror and the greatest grievance which Unions consider they have suffered at the hands of the courts, the so-called "government by injunction," would be removed. If it be true, as Mr. Gompers states and all well-informed labor leaders agree, that "trade unionism is just as strong and never stronger than public opinion," Unions should court publicity, assume and not attempt to evade responsibility, and be willing to place themselves in the measure incorporation covers under the supervision and control of the public.

In addition to a special Law of Incorporation there should be a special "Arbitration Law." This should provide for the selection of one or more arbitrators by each side and of an Umpire by them, the Umpire, if they cannot agree, to be a Justice of the Supreme Court to be appointed in each case by the Governor. Time being an important consideration the arbitrators should be required to hear both sides and decide within a specified limited period; and pending the hearing and decision the relations between

Employer and Employees should remain undisturbed. But when the decision is in favor of an increase of wage it should relate back to the date of the original demand. It should have the same effect as a judgment of a Court of record but be appealable to the full Appellate Branch of the Supreme Court unless the arbitrators are unanimous on the vital points, in which case there should be no appeal; and an appeal should take precedence on the court's docket and be heard without delay. All expenses of the arbitration of every kind including remuneration to labor witnesses for loss of time, should be borne by the state, full opportunity being given to the labor side to prove its case, thereby putting Labor on an equal footing with Capital in the contest. Upon application of any organization, either of Employers or Employees, incorporated or unincorporated, a Judge should be authorized to direct an arbitration to be held in accordance with the Act. Failure to obey would, of course, be a contempt of court. The decision should be final for at least one year—two would be better—with the right, however, to again dispute upon the same point should circumstances change, provided that the Union disputing did not cease work while the second dispute was pending. Such a law would be easily enforceable by giving the men the right to sue for wages as for a breach of contract if they were pending the arbitration discharged without what is recognized in all employments as "good cause." The men could not be compelled to work but Courts of Equity accomplish the same result by negation;—for example, they will not order an operatic artist to sing for a manager but they will restrain her from singing for another. Above all there should be what Bishop Spalding calls "compulsory investigation." The parties should be obliged to open to full inspection their record and account books and all other sources of information which would evidence whether the demands made were reasonable and just or not. In a phrase, the fullest publicity should be compell-

ed that the public as well as the arbitrators might correctly judge.

It is asserted in some quarters that compulsory arbitration has been demonstrated a failure in New Zealand although for years it has been customary to point to that country's method of settling labor disputes as a model. But there is a great defect in the New Zealand system in that the arbitrators are a permanent tribunal and consequently not always familiar with the technical points involved, and are called upon to fix wages in ignorance of the cost of production. This radical defect would not be present in the method here outlined since the arbitrators in each case would be different and presumably chosen for their familiarity with the trade involved.

Labor Unions have come to stay. They are blind who do not realize this. Time will regulate their excesses here as it has in England which were much worse when Charles Reade wrote "Put Yourself In His Place" Tyrannical actions and demands upon the part of Capital or Labor if obstinately persisted in can result only in anarchy or despotism. An enlightened Self-Interest must be substituted for the present unenlightenment. Force never breeds anything but ill-will, leaves festering sores waiting to break out, and produces only temporary cessation of hostilities. Might does not make Right and Right, like Truth, "crushed to earth will rise again."

Women's Clubs and Public Charities

Illinois Federation Committee

Julia C. Lathrop, Editor

Women's Part in Philadelphia's Uplift

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following contributions by representative Philadelphia women have been obtained in order to indicate the work of active philanthropic organizations of women in that city. We hope to present from time to time papers indicating the similar undertakings of women's clubs in various cities. We feel sure that the extent and variety and effectiveness of the public charitable work carried on by women's club, is not generally realized and we believe that these resumé's will be full of practical suggestions.

I. THE CRUSADE AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

By Mrs. Charles J. Hatfield

In a discussion of the work of the club women of Philadelphia in the crusade against tuberculosis, a brief statement of the conditions to be met with is of interest.

In 1903 the population of Philadelphia was 1,378,624, and 3,125 deaths from tuberculosis, or one-ninth of the total death rate, were recorded. These figures are conservative, as the registration of cases of consumption is not compulsory. As it is estimated that there

are at least two walking cases of tuberculosis for each one dying of the disease, there are more than 10,000 cases of tuberculosis in the city each year.

The Institutions and Societies engaged in the crusade are as follows:

The Board of Health asks for voluntary registration of cases of tuberculosis by physicians, and performs house disinfection whenever it is asked for. The following hospitals receive consumptives: the Henry Phipps Institute for

the Study, Treatment, and Prevention of Tuberculosis, the Philadelphia General Hospital, the Jewish Hospital, the Rush Hospital, the Protestant Episcopal City Mission, and the University Hospital, providing in all a total capacity of 422 beds. The Henry Phipps Institute treated in its dispensaries in one year about 2,000 walking cases. Many early cases are sent to two sanatoria at a distance from the city. The Sanatorium of the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives at White Haven receives 116 patients, and is doing a wonderful work. The South Mountain Sanatorium of Mont Alto, has a capacity of 38, and is also showing good results. In the crusade of education the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis is printing and distributing literature.

The first systematic effort by women in this crusade was the formation of a Women's Auxiliary of the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives in June, 1904. In the fall of the same year, it was decided to adopt the plan followed by the Stonywood Sanatorium of New York, of organizing a number of Auxiliaries throughout the city. In consequence, there are at present six Women's Auxiliaries and a Junior group, having in all about 400 members. Three of these Auxiliaries were organized among members of the Civic Club, the New Century Club, and the College Club.

The object of these Auxiliaries are:—to help support the work of the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives by paying annual dues, to raise money by sales and entertainments, to arouse interest in the work, and to advance education in methods of prevention of tuberculosis.

As a result of the work of the Women's Auxiliaries of the Free Hospital, there was formed in April by the Civic Betterment Association, of the Civic Club, a Committee on Tuberculosis. This Committee is designed to comprise at least one representative from every charitable organization in the city, with the idea of investigating the condition of poor consumptives, and spreading accurate information as to methods of prevention, and modern care of cases of tuberculosis.

The plan of work outlined at the first meeting was as follows:

1. A canvass of general hospitals and dispensaries in the city to investigate their facilities for the treatment of tuberculous patients; a similar plan of investigation of hospitals throughout the state to be suggested to the Women's Clubs of Pennsylvania.
2. A canvass of diet kitchens to develop facilities for distributing milk and eggs to destitute consumptives.
3. Distribution of tuberculosis literature to workers in department stores and factories, and also to the students of the Medical Colleges of the city.
4. To arrange wherever possible for popular lectures on tuberculosis by the members of the staff of the Phipps Institute, a special effort being made to reach the private and public schools.
5. To visit drug stores asking them to keep and display supplies for consumptives.

The interest in this work throughout Philadelphia is decidedly on the increase, while the work is still in its incipency. It is hoped that these organizations of club women may reach every part of the city, and may accomplish much in the crusade.

II. THE CIVIC BETTERMENT ASSOCIATION

By Mrs. Edward G. McCollin

This Association now closing its third year of active work represents the commencement of an attempt to organ-

ize the women in the City of Philadelphia into neighborhood Branches of a central Association in manner simi-

lar to the organization of the political parties throughout our large cities. In our work the attempt has been made to secure groups of women in the election Divisions of the various Wards of the city who would work for definite neighborhood and civic improvements. The Association closes its third year with sixty-five Branches in nine of the forty-two Wards of the city and having about twelve hundred members. The work was started and has continued under the auspices of the Civic Club of Philadelphia, the parent of so many of the representative women's civic associations in Philadelphia. The Civic Betterment Association is governed by a Committee of Management, thirteen in number, all of whom are members of the Civic Club, which is appointed annually by the Board of Directors of the Civic Club and to whom it is responsible.

These neighborhood Branches hold monthly meetings from October to April for the conduct of which a monthly Bulletin of Instructions and Information is issued by the Committee of Management. These Branches work to better the condition of the streets, to secure needed playgrounds, to prevent the issue of liquor licenses and the sale of tobacco to minors, and for other similar objects, and especially to improve the citizenship of their voters.

This last enumerated is the chief work which the Association plans and is one which it is gradually accomplishing; i. e. that of improving the citizenship of the voters in the neighborhoods where it is organized. In connection with this attempts are made annually to secure a revision of the Assessor's lists in the Divisions; information concerning the time, place and object of the holding of party primary elections is circulated; a non-partisan circular of information giving the candidates of all parties with general information concerning the election is issued prior to the municipal elections in February. All work performed for the betterment of citizenship is non-partisan in its nature, the Association feeling that if the

attention of the voters of the city can be specifically called to the conditions, and definite information concerning these matters in their own neighborhood be put before them that a betterment of conditions through better citizenship is sure to follow. The figures of the number and growth of the delinquent voters in the different Wards is annually given and special efforts made to rouse this large class of non-citizens to their duty.

The Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of these local Branches are organized as Ward Committees which meet monthly for the consideration of matters which affect the Ward as a whole. These Ward Committees have special Committees on Public Schools and other subjects which are purely of Ward interest. The Chairmen of the Ward Committees are ex-officio, members of the Committee of Management.

The Association has, in addition to its local work in these neighborhood or Division Branches, Central Committees consisting of delegates from the neighborhood Branches which work for the Juvenile Court, Parks and Playgrounds, Street Car Service and Police Matrons. A new Central Committee has just been formed with Mrs. Charles J. Hatfield as Chairman, to aid in the Crusade against tuberculosis which has been commenced in Philadelphia. Through these Central Committees much good and helpful work has been done in connection with the special objects which they represent.

The Association has found its best results both in number of Branches and quality of work done in that Ward of Philadelphia which comprises German-town and Chestnut Hill. This was the first Ward in which the Civic Betterment Association was organized and it has proved a great test of the work in action. Very few modifications of the original plan of organization have been found necessary and so much fine local work accomplished that the example to the less well organized Wards has been found most inspiring.

The aim of the Association is broadly

speaking, to make the women residents of the city alive to the conditions of citizenship and civic administration in

their own neighborhood, and this has been very largely achieved so far as the work has progressed.

III. THE PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION FOR HOUSEHOLD RESEARCH

By Mrs. Rollin Norris

Miss Frances A. Kellor, while making a sociological investigation along certain lines, the results of which have since been published in the book "Experimental Sociology," had her attention called to the undisturbed field of the employment agency. Later as a fellow of the College Settlement Association, she made an investigation of the employment agencies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

It will be seen upon thoughtful consideration that this form of industry—the clearing house for those seeking workers and those seeking work—plays an important part in the industrial world and can be a factor for good or evil. But not enough thought or interest has been given to the subject. It was found that many of the agencies were conducted by illiterate and immoral persons; that there was often co-operation between employment agencies and disreputable houses; that agencies for men were frequently in saloons; and that many applicants, after paying their fee, were defrauded by being sent where there was no work, and by being charged whatever the agent thought he could get out of them.

As a result of this investigation, which has since been published in the book "Out of Work," an Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research was formed for the study of the whole industrial problem of the household—the factor of the employment agency being only one of the many to be taken up.

A systematic and thorough study of this subject has never been made before. The investigations now undertaken are made principally by trained investigators—sociological students with fellowships—except where specialists are required temporarily.

The whole program of investigation contains twelve divisions and about sixty subjects.

The Committee is formed at present of representatives from the three cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, the College Settlements Association, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. This Committee plans and unites the work undertaken in each city and also engages in general educational work along its special lines, and Miss Frances A. Kellor is its General Director.

In Philadelphia, the local branch of the Committee is the Philadelphia Association for Household Research, which was organized in January, 1905. Its membership at present numbers about one hundred and fifty, including persons having charge of sociological Departments in the University of Pennsylvania and at Villa Nova College.

The following is an outline of the work upon which it has begun:

I. 1. Source of Supply. The investigation of forces and agencies which induce European immigration and of those agencies which co-operate with them: their purposes and methods and the channels of activity, desirable or otherwise into which the girls are directed. It is known by investigation that both in this country and abroad there are agencies which induce immigration with no care for or interest in those who come, except the money they can gain thereby; and that others with whom they co-operate direct and even force them into immoral places.

2. Similar investigation as to the forces at work inducing country girls, ignorant of city life, to come to the city and

3. A like investigation of the importation of colored girls from the

South, who may be then set adrift in a strange city to shift for themselves, or sent to disreputable places, later to play a part in the problem of city and slum life. The colored investigation is to include information of the forces at work both in this city and at Southern ports.

4. To obtain information of and co-operation with any philanthropic agencies which are engaged in seeing that these girls from various sources are looked after and properly placed, and to develop such agencies where they are lacking.

II. Domestic Training: Investigation as to how far the great need for trained workers in the household is met by training schools, and as to how the present large number of unskilled household workers may be brought into touch with such agencies and obtain suitable training. How far such training may induce higher standards and cause it to be recognized as of the same importance as the training of nurses.

At present most of the domestic training schools only teach the householders. The investigation is to strive to find why such training does not reach the household worker, and what different and various methods may be needed to attract this latter class. Many workers cannot afford to obtain training at the expense of being out of a position. Such methods may be necessary as arrangements for girls at work to attend courses in special classes, or for a teacher to be sent to the homes.

III. Investigation of Employment Bureaus: These, after the girls have arrived, serve as a distributing medium, many of them, interested in their own profit, and not in the welfare of the girls, play into the hands of immoral agencies. These distributing centres for these newcomers to the city from abroad, from the country and from the south, are thus influential in shaping course and character of many of our future citizens.

This part of the investigation has already been made by the General Director. The results published in the book,

"Out of Work," give full descriptions of business conditions and methods, and the effect of offices upon homes. The Association has on file the results of the investigations of all the employment agencies in Philadelphia. These are grouped into three classes: (1) Recommended, (2) Approved, and (3) Undesirable—of which latter class there are a large number.

A law regulating employment agencies was enacted last year in New York, through the efforts of the New York Association, and in its enforcement the great need of such regulation is shown. A bill similar to this law, which requires the employment agencies to be honest and respectable, is to be introduced it in the next Pennsylvania Legislature.

IV. Lodging Houses for Unemployed Women: Investigation as to the means provided for taking care of those employed in the household when out of work. Ascertainment of what lodging houses there are for them, character, etc., and the selection and listing of such as are clean and respectable. At present many lodging houses are run in connection with employment agencies, for both Negro and White and both sexes, a condition easily seen to be most undesirable and resulting in immoral conditions. This is prohibited in the Employment Agency Bill.

Finally: The work of the Association is two-fold; first, that of investigation of facts and conditions in the field of household industry which has already been outlined, with the view to effect constructive work to meet the conditions and needs as ascertained; second, this constructive work to be effected by the co-ordination of agencies, already existing whenever possible. The constructive work to be along the lines of substituting for an unconscious commercial system, ignorant of and indifferent to its part in the economic welfare as it affects the household work, and often immoral, a conscious humane system providing proper care and protection to both householder and household worker by providing (1) agents

at the docks to meet the friendless girls as they arrive and who would otherwise be liable to get into the hands of unscrupulous employment agencies; (2) a proper boarding place for such newcomers until they get work and for those who are temporarily out of work; (3) a model employment agency for such girls and (4) domestic training for those who would otherwise exploit

the employer while obtaining from her the training previously lacking.

An Association for the Protection of Colored Women has been formed by the Philadelphia Association for Household Research and an Agent has been placed by the former at the docks to meet the Southern Colored women. This agent will do her work in co-operation also with the Travelers' Aid Society.

IV. THE JUVENILE COURT AND PROBATION SYSTEM

By Mrs. Frederic Schoff

Pennsylvania was the third state to adopt the Juvenile Court and probation system, and the first session was held June, 1901.

The great need for a different method of caring for erring and unfortunate children was brought forcibly to my attention in 1899, when the papers published in most sensational style, the account of a little girl who had set fire to a house.

She was described as a prodigy of crime. She was tried in the criminal court and sentenced to the House of Refuge, and she was *eight years old*! The child lost her mother at two years of age, and had been an inmate of an orphanage, and from there became a drudge in a city boarding house. Never in her short life had she had good influence about her, yet she was an innocent normal child, who frankly said she did it "to see the fire burn and the engines run." The commitment of little children to a reformatory is a terrible injustice. There is little hope of purifying or uplifting them, if the formative years are spent in the exclusive companionship of children who are versed in every phase of crime.

The Judge consented to release the child (for I had found a home for her where she would be educated and have good care) but he said "I had no choice in the matter. There was no other place to send her, and they did not want her there because of the nature of her offense."

That statement caused me to determine to work unceasingly to bring about

different opportunities for erring children.

There were numerous private charities to aid dependent children, though for the erring children of tenderest years there was no provision by the state except two Houses of Refuge—one of these owned and managed by the State—the other owned and run by charitable men, and receiving state aid in large sums.

Further investigation showed that children were tried in the criminal courts, that they were held awaiting trial for weeks at a time in the prison. In 1900 there were 500 children ranging from six to sixteen years in Philadelphia county prison, which is a model as far as a prison goes, but which is no place for children. Throughout the state, children were confined for months at a time for petit larceny or other offenses, and in the county prisons they were not separated in any way from adult criminals, who were their constant associates. There were 300 children a month passing through the station houses in Philadelphia confined in the cells and seeing and hearing things never to be forgotten that left an indelible impress on their lives.

Another great abuse had grown up in Pennsylvania, in making it so easy to send children to the House of Refuge that a large proportion who were there should never have gone to such a place. Any parent could go before the nearest magistrate, and by saying his child was incorrigible have him committed to the House of Refuge. The

child's side of the case had no presentation by any one. There was no publicity, and it was all so easy that parental responsibility was at a discount. Nearly half the commitments were by stepfathers or mothers who desired to be freed from care and expense, and the burden of their support was unjustly placed on the tax payers, while innocent children were subjected to associations and to a stigma which was utterly undeserved. In 1900 I had formed a committee of women composed of members of the Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers and New Century Club.

Bills were prepared providing separate trial for children, providing houses of detention for children awaiting trial, prohibiting confinement of children in police station or prison, and providing for probation officers not to be paid from public treasury. They were passed, but met with serious opposition from certain sources and suit was brought to test the constitutionality of the acts in 1902.

We had five new acts drawn which were carefully prepared by a noted constitutional lawyer and which were introduced into the Legislature of 1902 before the Superior Court had declared the first acts unconstitutional. After many difficulties and bitter opposition from the House of Refuge, the new acts were passed in 1903. Again suit was brought against them. The Superior Court sustained them in 1904. Appeal was made to the Supreme Court and the argument heard in May, 1905. The District Attorney of Philadelphia defended the acts, and while the decision has not been given, there is good reason to believe the decision of the Superior Court will be sustained. The present acts provide:

Separate room, rooms or building in every county for children awaiting trial.

Separate trial of children's cases.

Probation officers paid by private subscription.

No children to be committed to reformatories by magistrates, but all such commitments to be through Juvenile Court.

Boards of Visitors for Children's Institutions.

No child under 12 to be sent to reformatory unless after trial by probation it seems necessary.

A committee of women have charge of the probation work in Philadelphia. Eleven officers are employed, and their salaries are raised by subscription from individuals and societies. Careful consideration is given to every case where removal from the home is necessary. A home in a family is always the first choice, and institutions are considered a last resort. Parents are made to contribute to their children's support and the investigation as to children's incorrigibility has lessened the number who are sent to the House of Refuge on that plea. The Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers, the Federation of Jewish Charities, the Philadelphia Mothers' Club, College Settlements, Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, Children's Aid Society, Civic Betterment Association, many churches and individuals are actively co-operating with the Philadelphia Committee on Juvenile Court and Probation Work, and are represented on this central committee which I organized in the New Century Club, and which has revolutionized the methods of dealing with erring children in Pennsylvania.

The Union of Socialists in France.

By Professor Charles R. Henderson

On the evening of April 26, in the great Tivoli-Vaux-Hall, the Socialists of Paris gathered to celebrate and ratify the action of the leaders of the sections of the movement who have formed a

federation. Representatives of each of the factions were on the stage and the veteran Vaillant acted as chairman and opened the meeting with a speech. Jannon, Gonde, Fribourg, Herve, Di-

jeante, Nody and Millen made brief speeches, while Pressense and Jaures sent letters of regret and adhesion. The principal address was made by E. Vandervelde, deputy in the Belgian Parliament. Whatever may be one's critical judgment of the doctrines of the party, there was evidence of a moral earnestness, a sincerity and an enthusiasm for ideals which command respect.

The speakers congratulated the "comrades" on the act of union which works a new epoch of history. A united front is presented to the political and economic opponents of the wage earning class. Some of the more significant ideas may be selected to indicate the tendency of the thought at this hour, without any attempt to restate the familiar philosophy of Socialism or to criticise the positions and arguments.

Two armies now confront each other, the proletarian and the capitalist, and the latter will be conquered by the united forces opposed to it. It will be necessary to unite the economic and the political forms of effort, said both Vailant and Vandervelde, and the Belgian deputy could show how this had been accomplished in his own country where trade unions, cooperative associations, publishing agencies and educational methods are all under one direction; the economic unions furnishing means for the political conflict. In France, England and Germany the leaders are seeking to bring all together.

The next step to union was also urged by the Belgian orator who represented the executive committee of the International. He said: "I salute with joy the Socialist party, section of the Workmen's International. As in former times under monarchies they said: The king

is dead! long live the king! So now we cry: The Socialist parties are dead! long live the Socialist party!"

The resolutions passed at this meeting are full of significance. "The citizens, men and women, assembled in Tivoli-Vaux-Hall at the request of the Socialist party, welcome the full and entire union of all the French organizations in the battle of classes on the basis of the revolutions of the International Congress. They salute the brother proletarians who are carrying on their national conflicts, especially the heroic warriors of Russia and Poland contending with the Czar the assassin. They expect from this union of French Socialists a new impulse to all proletarians in their contest to precipitate the hour of definite and complete triumph of the working class in all nations. Long live French Socialism! Long live the International." The reference to the Czar was all the more interesting because a large part of the audience was composed of persons who had formerly lived in Russia or Poland.

To an outsider one aspect of the meeting suggested a contradiction: the expressions of fraternity, concord, international sympathy, profound purpose to limit war and secure peace; side by side with expressions of battle without truce with all capitalists. Of course it is the system called capitalism and not particular persons who are the objects of attack; but it is easy to transfer these emotions of war to representations of the system; and at this hour M. Haviland, manufacturer of Limoges, who recently declared a lock-out, has been singled out as a type of the offensive traits which capitalism is said inevitably to produce.

Chicago's New Hospital for Children

By William C. Graves

The new hospital for sick children, constructed on the grounds of the Cook County Hospital, at Harrison and Wood Streets, was open for public inspection on Tuesday, May, 23. No exercises were held, but President Ed-

ward J. Brundage of the County Board and Warden Charles J. Hapel of the County Hospital and many of the County Commissioners were present to welcome the hundreds of people who visited the institution.





Cook County Hospital for Children

The new hospital cost upward of \$80,000. It is the first public hospital to be erected in the west for the exclusive use of sick children. It is three stories high, thoroughly fire proof, —and covers a ground measure of 147 x 43 ft. The twenty wards provide accommodations for 150 patients. The arrangements ensure a scientific classification of patients, and there are isolation wards where patients are kept till the character of their diseases is known. A demonstration or clinical room is also provided. It has a large

room with south front and one-half the exposure glass to let the sunshine pour in. This is the play room. Throughout the hospital the partitions above the wainscoting of all wards are of plate glass, so that patients may be under the direct observation of nurses at all times. It has four large porches screened for safety, where patients may have outdoor air. Many suggestions for the plans were made by medical experts and by other students of the child problem. Fifty-seven doctors are on call and there is a staff of twelve nurses. It has an automatic system of ventilation by which the air may be changed every ten minutes. Of course, the service is absolutely free, being designed for the care of the children of the poor.

The opening of the hospital for children practically closes the construction movement inaugurated by the County Board of 1900-2 under President John J. Hanberg, carried nearly to completion by the Board of 1902-4 under President Henry G. Foreman, and given finishing touches by the present Board under President Edward J. Brundage. The money spent was \$500,000. The new buildings bring the physical equipment at Dunning and the County Hospital up to a high grade of efficiency.



Taking the Air on the Porch

(Off old Hospital Ward for Children)

At the Institute of Social Science and Arts, Chicago

Course in Public Charities

Outline of Lectures given during May, 1905

May 3.

MISS LATHROP.

Topic: Public care of the Insane Abroad.

I. Importance of the Subject.

- a. Statistics of various countries show increase of recognized insanity beyond proportionate increase normal population. (*e. g.*, in Scotland about four-fold.)
- b. Although care bestowed in some instances by private charity or religious orders, public supervision recognized as essential.

II. Early history of treatment of insane shows that the belief in demoniacal possession resulted in judicial and ecclesiastical measures of great severity.

- a. Medieval history in Germany.
- b. Witchcraft in Great Britain.

III. Modern period begins with gradual ascendancy of medical spirit, signalized at close of 18th century by work of Tuke in England, Chiaruga in Italy and Pinel in France, in ameliorating the state of the insane.

IV. Present development in various countries indicated by—

- a. Recognition of insanity purely as a disease.
- b. Modern specialization in construction of institutions, *e. g.*, Alt Scherbitz, in separate provision for acute, chronic, criminal, alcoholics, imbeciles, epileptic.
- c. Excellent supervisory methods, *e. g.*, Scotch Lunacy Commission.
- d. Public sense of importance, *e. g.*, French Governmental Inquiry, by Dr. F. Serieux.
- e. Special university clinics and required courses in insanity in Germany, Switzerland, Italy.
- f. Distinguished alienists employed by the state in various countries.
- g. Popular interest shown by societies for aid of convalescent and recovered patients.

Authorities—

The Insane in Foreign Countries, Wm. Letchworth.
Reports Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland, 1904.
L'Assistance des Alienes, Dr. Paul Serieux, 1903.
The Insane, International Congress of Charities, 1893.

May 10.

MISS LATHROP.

Topic: Public Care of the Insane in the United States.

I. Policy of Public Care for the Insane is accepted in the United States. This is essential because—

- a. "No other disease pauperizes as does insanity." The burden is too heavy for private charity.
- b. The insane are entitled to public supervision and protection.
- c. Improvements must be obtained by public support and appreciation of the best medical standards.

II. Development of public care of the insane in the United States. Renewal of interest at present time.

III. The increase of recognized insanity in the United States is self-evident. There are no adequate general statistics as to numbers or cost. The relation of the increase of immigration is of interest.

IV. Costly provision for insane and the theory of "asylum architecture."

V. Administration of typical states: New York, with central salaried administrative lunacy commission, and state care. Wisconsin's county system for chronic cases and Central Board of Control. Massachusetts, with distinct voluntary committee on insanity, supervisory. Michigan, with first psychopathic hospital in connection with State University.

VI. The present situation in the United States suggests the following tendencies:—

- a. More complete and authoritative public supervision, both volunteer and paid, of public and private institutions for the insane.
- b. Administrative reorganization to secure economy and scientific efficiency.
- c. Adequate teaching of the subject of mental disease in the medical schools.
- d. Separation of the administration of the public care and supervision of the insane from political control or influence.
- e. Adequate training and adequate pay for the nursing service, and larger employment of women.
- f. Correlation of the activities of state institutions and state universities.
- g. Enlargement of the present system of public hospitals so as to secure in addition:

1. Care of acute and transitory cases in special wards of general hospitals, or in small special hospitals.

2. Colony and industrial life for chronic patients.
3. Family care for suitable cases.
4. Smaller institutions.

Authorities—

American Charities. Amos G. Warner.
 Proceedings National Conference Charities. Reports State Boards of Charities

various States, notably New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan. Reports Boards of Control Iowa and Wisconsin. New York Lunacy Commission. Massachusetts Committee on Lunacy. Reports Cook County Insane Asylum, and annual reports various hospitals for the insane.

(The outline for the course will be concluded in *THE COMMONS* for July.)

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.

The Smaller City and Some of Its Larger Needs

Under this title the May magazine number of *Charities* presents an interesting symposium on some of the problems of the smaller municipalities. Secretary Alexander Johnson of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, discusses the organization of charity in smaller cities, while short articles on this work in Newburgh and Sioux City furnish statements of just how it works: Rev. Caroline Barlett Crane tells the story of an institutional church in a town of 30,000, the People's Church of Kalamazoo to which she has given most devoted service; and Mr. Charles J. Allen writes of "Housing in the Smaller Municipalities."

The very great need of vigilance to prevent tenement evils in these moderate sized cities and even in rural communities cannot be over estimated. Conditions described by Mr. Allen as existing in New Jersey have their counterpart in many another state. Here is an instance adduced by Mr. Allen from his own state, showing the sort of thing that is continually threatening in places where a close watch is not kept. A short distance from Newark an Italian who cultivated a tract of land for garden truck had 12 or 14 men in his employ. He conceived the notion of putting up a four story tenement to accommodate eight families. The excavation for it was under way when it was discovered that he had not submitted his plans to the tenement board, and an investigation proved that there was "no arrangement for water, no plumbing, no fire-escapes, any number of dark rooms, several rooms in each apartment having less than the minimum floor area allowed for tenement houses, and numerous other departures from the law." He was told that he must make radical alterations, including the installation of water closets and running water in each apartment. The affair resulted in his having to abandon his entire scheme and build a two family house. Precautions against fire are another thing that there is a great temptation for owners to leave out of their buildings in the smaller communities where the people have not been made alert upon this subject by the memory of terrible lessons that our large cities have learned.

ment board, and an investigation proved that there was "no arrangement for water, no plumbing, no fire-escapes, any number of dark rooms, several rooms in each apartment having less than the minimum floor area allowed for tenement houses, and numerous other departures from the law." He was told that he must make radical alterations, including the installation of water closets and running water in each apartment. The affair resulted in his having to abandon his entire scheme and build a two family house. Precautions against fire are another thing that there is a great temptation for owners to leave out of their buildings in the smaller communities where the people have not been made alert upon this subject by the memory of terrible lessons that our large cities have learned.

The Fight for Trade Schools

Massachusetts—which the census of 1900 showed to have a smaller increase for the decade in the value of manufactured product than any other state but Oregon—is campaigning for skilled workers and trade schools. The remarkable improvement of business since 1900—at the rate of 45 per cent per decade—may or may not show, the advocates of the trade school declare, that the state has been recently holding its own. If it has, they say, the catastrophe is only postponed, as "Massachusetts is not making coarse goods any better than other states which are nearer the raw material, the fuel, and the centre of purchasing population, and is not making fine grades at all."

The skilled workmen and the manufacture of the higher grade product, then, must be looked to for the perpetuation and salvation of the state's industries.

It is remarkable in the fight which has followed the Governor's demand that the state commit itself to the systematic development of skilled factory operatives, that Mr. Douglas—the Democrat at the head of the Republican state—has arrayed against him the very forces which, perhaps, contributed most toward his election—the trades unions and the labor interests. The distrust of the unionists is based, they say, upon the view that trade schools are largely impractical, that where they are practical they often send graduates to other states, there to help take industries away from Massachusetts, and that they glut the labor market with operatives.

On the other hand it is stated by Frank W. Moxon in "World's Work" that the demand in the United States alone for high grade shoes greatly exceeds the capacity of the factories. There are machines enough, but it is impossible to obtain skilled workmen to operate them. The New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania manufacturers are importing foreigners for the work, men trained in the schools of Germany and France and experienced in German and French shops. This supply of workmen is not sufficient. Skilled workers are needed; Massachusetts manufacturers declare that the graduates of trade schools or the journeymen who took night courses would not replace a single workman now employed but would go immediately into the making of shoes not now produced in the state. Instead of endangering the jobs of the union workmen, it is maintained, trade schools would create a new class of highly paid operatives, and provide all workmen with a new opportunity for advancement.

In the textile industry, it was found from the superintendent of the Lowell Textile School, that out of 277 graduates of his institution up to June 30, 1904, only forty-one are employed in other states.

The recommendation which Mr. Douglas made in his inaugural was that a commission inquire into industrial conditions and that the Legislature consider the feasibility of extending the State system of technical schools. For several years the state has had a law providing that when any city shall show a given number of spindles, the state will pay \$40,000 a year toward supporting a textile school for which the city or the citizens raise a like sum. A bill was introduced providing for a similar arrangement with such boot and shoe cities as produce \$10,000,000 worth of goods annually, the state to duplicate any maintenance sum not exceeding \$25,000 a year raised locally for a trade school.

A Labor Union Attempt at Co-operative Business

Interesting in itself, and perhaps more interesting for what has been said on another page of the possible future of the co-operative enterprise now being established by N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, is the result of a rare practical experiment in co-operative production by a labor union that went into business for itself.

While by no means so pessimistic or so lacking faith in co-operation—and who knowing the tremendous successes of co-operation abroad, can lack faith—as to put this forward as an example or a type of the failure which will follow similar enterprises, we call attention to this as a practical portrayal of a certain very strong and definite tendency in American life and industry, most fatal to the spirit of co-operation.

For this concise statement, we are indebted to the "Review of Reviews":

Polishers' Union No. 113, of Rochester, N. Y., was organized in the spring of 1902 by the polishers employed at the Eastman kodak factory. Demands of the union were refused by Manager Frank A. Brownell. A strike followed. Mr. Brownell suggested that the men start a shop of their own. He offered to lease them the necessary plant and give them his work when their bid was as low as that of other shops.

The union decided to adopt Mr. Brownell's suggestion. Thirty-four workmen subscribed for one \$100-share each, and the total represented the capital stock. Business started well, and the co-operative concern prospered. The company was in the open field for business, and secured the Eastman work only when its bids were as low as those of its competitors. After two years and a half what is the condition of the experiment?

From thirty-four owners the thirty-four shares of stock have gradually gravitated into the hands of five of the original stockholders. But that is not the most significant phase of the matter. In the beginning the stockholders were radical union men. Now the five who own the entire stock are advocates of the open shop.

They refuse absolutely to treat with the polishers' union. When the latter urged its rules the five owners declared they would close their plant before they would be dictated to by the union. To seek the reasons for the complete change of position is like probing for the germ of a disease.

It is evident that the open shop is more profitable for the employer, else why should the ones in the experiment so change their views? Did they not demonstrate human nature? The feeling of proprietorship that began to steal upon them as the balance of power came into their hands wrought the gradual change in their minds and completely shifted their point of view.

At the end of the first eighteen months, the number of stockholders was reduced to twenty-one. The causes of the change in ownership were many, and were such as would occur in a similar experiment the world over. When a stockholder desired to sell out he had, by a rule of the company, to offer his holding to his co-workers first. If they did not buy at his price, the board of directors would set a price. If their figure was not satisfactory, he could then offer it for sale outside, but not for less than he had offered it to the other stockholders.

If business was booming, stock brought a good premium. If there was plenty of work in sight, particularly good premiums were offered. If the future was not more than normally bright, stock would sell only at a discount. The stockholders, of course, received standard wages, besides the dividends on the stock.

Control of the co-operative company's affairs was vested, at the start, in a board of nine directors, chosen from the working stockholders, including the president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary. All complaints were referred to a shop committee of three, whose dictum was final. The board of directors selected the shop foreman, who served until replaced by another choice of the board.

Naturally enough there were many incidents that required diplomacy, and the experimenters had a large and valuable experience in seeing things from the standpoint of an employer. There were many long conferences over the shop and business policy.

As the original co-operators sold their shares to other stockholders, it became necessary to hire men to take the places of the sellers, who left. Some who sold their stock remained at work as the employees of their former partners. Thus, there are now a former president and other ex-officers working at the bench. The men now work by the piece.

One noteworthy feature of the experiment in co-operation is the number of men who, from it, started in business for themselves. It proved a practical school of business for them. It incited many of the original stockholders to quit the shop and enter some enterprise as proprietor.

The present owners of the thirty-four shares of stock are doing a good business, and feel independent enough to fix their own scale of wages and tell the union that they will run an open shop if they want to.

Unions as Contractors of the Finished Product of Labor.

Calling it "The Labor Question's Newer Aspects," Mr. Victor S. Yarros fills most of the six pages of his interesting article in the "*Review of Reviews*," with a discussion of the Open vs. the Closed Shop. We have, at various times, given to the readers of THE COMMONS quite full and detailed comment as to the legal and economic status of this Open and Closed Shop controversy, waged about us in all manner of ways. Mr. Yarros, however, contributes an extremely suggestive solution of a French economist, which we here give:

"Since individualism—the principle of personal liberty and equal opportunity—has been so eloquently and freely invoked by the opponents of the closed shop, it is interesting as well as instructive to call attention here to the remarkable book of M. Yves Guyot, ex-minister of the French Republic, economist and individualist of the 'Manchester' school, and clear-headed thinker. The title of the work is 'Les Conflits du Travail et leur Solution,' and in it the author puts forward a plan for doing away with the war between capital and labor. M. Guyot has no faith in the ordinary methods of trade-unions, and arbitration he regards as a crude and unscientific remedy, a makeshift which sagacious men of affairs are bound to repudiate.

"To give M. Guyot's own solution in a few words, it consists in setting up labor exchanges, in making the existing unions contractors—sellers of labor. The employer is no longer a 'master'; let him also cease to be a 'patron.' At present, owing to a false conception of the proper relation between capital and labor, the employer thinks that by paying wages he buys labor. Among free men wages buy, not labor, but the results of labor. Why, asks M. Guyot, should not the unions enter into contracts to sell to employers, *wholesale*, the results of a certain amount of labor? Raw material is bought wholesale, labor is bought at retail, and this being an unbusinesslike, antiquated arrangement, it naturally produces friction and trouble. Employers should contract for so much finished work, and the unions should undertake to do certain work for a definite price and divide the income. The workmen should combine in joint-stock societies to produce and deliver such and such goods. Employers would then go to union headquarters for labor, or the results of labor, as they go

for raw materials and machinery to those who supply them.

"M. Guyot endeavors to show that this plan would do away with strikes, restriction of outputs, lockouts, etc.; but the point of interest in this connection is that it frankly accepts the exclusive-contract idea, the union shop in a modified form. And this proposal comes from a staunch individualist who is opposed to all paternalism, all oppression, all injustice! The dictum that the open shop is the corollary of individualism and freedom is thus open to serious doubt."

We wish now, without further comment at this time however, to note that the proposition printed above is little different from co-operation—to which we have given a considerable space in this number—and what is much more striking, is proposing a movement exactly similar to the incident whose failure we have traced in the preceding note—A Labor Union Attempt at Co-operative business.

Tuberculosis in Chicago

The Study of Tuberculosis in Chicago, published by the City Homes Association affords much data for an intelligent understanding of the disease in that community and the next things that should be done in combating it. The text of the report is by Dr. Alice Hamilton of Hull House and is made with special reference to the statistics collected by Dr. Theodore Sachs in the Jewish district and the house to house investigation of a single block in the same district by Miss Bertha Hazard of Hull House.

The figures show that there is no ground for the optimistic impression prevailing in Chicago that the city enjoys a comparative immunity from the ravages of the plague. Jews are shown to be only a little less susceptible to it than others. The Chicago block investigated was found to have almost the identical ratio of tuberculosis as New York's famous "lung block." Chicago conditions are especially serious when viewed in the light of the fact demonstrated by Scotch statistics that overcrowding to the room is more important than overcrowding of land area. Moreover, Chicago's windy climate and dirty streets must be recognized as a menace when looked at in the light of the fact that Vienna with similar conditions, as to wind at least, has over twice the death rate from tuberculosis that London has with all its fog and dampness. Chicago winds, however, must bring no little benefit in circulating fresh air from off Lake Michigan.

The Study concludes with a definite statement of what the next steps Chicago should undertake are. The first is compulsory reg-

istration of cases, in such a manner as to cause no hardship to the patient and no publicity, which makes it possible to ascertain with a fair amount of accuracy the distribution of this disease throughout the city, the quarters which are most in need of preventive measures, the houses which have become infected and the rate of increase or decrease from year to year. Compulsory disinfection and renovation should also be instituted. An arrangement whereby patients could obtain the proper food and nourishment free of charge would do an immense amount of good. And finally, local sanatoria should be provided to supplement the home treatment.

As a working basis for present efforts in the battle with the plague, this study should be received by Chicago with appreciation and gratitude.

The Finances of a Labor Union

Probably no trade union in the country expends so much in benefits of one sort or another as the Cigar Makers. Its report for 1904, recently made public shows that it handled a larger volume of money than ever before, and the officers to whose efficiency and conservative judgment much of the success of the Cigar Makers Union is due should be accorded the approval of all who have at heart the best interests of organized labor. We republish an editorial by its president, George W. Perkins, editor of the *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*:

The total amount handled by local officers reached the enormous sum of \$2,583,864.74.

The item of \$15,495, "assistance from unions," in the receipts, and the \$15,895.00 "assistance to unions," in the expenditure, is money forwarded by one union to another for the purpose of paying benefits and consequently is money that figures twice in the receipts and expenditures.

The largest item of expense was \$163,226.18 for sick benefits, as against \$147,054.56 in 1903, or an increase of \$16,171.62.

The second largest item of expense, \$151,752.93, was for death benefits, showing an increase of \$13,127.02 over that expended for a like purpose in 1903. The amount paid for death benefits in 1888, the commencement of the law providing for the payment of the present amount, was \$21,319.75.

The third largest expenditure for benefits was \$32,888.88, for strike benefits, as against \$20,858.15 in 1903. The largest part of the amount was expended in the Chicago strike.

The amount expended for out-of-work benefits was \$29,872.50, as against \$15,558 in 1903, showing an increase of \$14,314.50, and

indicates that the general state of trade was not quite as good in 1904 as it was in 1903.

We expended for loans granted \$58,728.71, as against \$52,524.41 in 1903.

The total amount of benefits paid for all purposes in 1904 was \$436,469.20, while \$374,968.03 was expended for a similar purpose in 1903 and shows an increase over the latter year of \$61,501.17.

The total benefits paid in twenty-five years and two months, or since the reorganization in 1879, and ending January 1, 1905, was \$6,416,520.78. The general fund increased \$94,116.29 during the year of 1904.

The International Union can well feel proud of its record in this respect. In relieving the sick, out of work, and taking financial assistance instead of nicely worded resolutions to the members and the heirs of deceased members, to the extent of nearly seven million dollars, in addition to improving the health, lengthening the lives of members, increasing wages, shortening the hours and otherwise improving the moral, material and intellectual well-being of its members, has erected year by year a monument of everlasting glory and credit to itself.

We congratulate the members upon the continued success of the International Union and feel that the past record of unqualified success under the most trying circumstances justifies a continuance of our splendid methods and system and warrants the prediction that if we do, nothing can stop the onward march of the International Union and its final complete success.

The Profession of Strike-Breaking

As a new occupation, "Strike-breaking"—especially strikes as they are broken by Mr. James, or "Boss," Farley—has recently encountered an epidemic of attention from our newspaper and periodical writers. Ten years ago a detective making twenty dollars a week and today—or rather during the life of such strikes as the recent notorious "sub-way" strike in New York—making single profits as great as an entire year's salary of our National Executive, Mr. Farley appeals strongly to the imagination; and the facts of his life and the manner of his work more than merits the attention due "something new."

His specialty is street railroad strikes, though in the thirty-five strikes of all varieties he has been in, he has lost not one. Like the Japanese he makes his peculiar kind of war by pre-arrangement having trained a sort of guerilla-army of industry which he always keeps at his call, paying them from

\$2.50 to \$3.50 a day and expenses when their services are needed, his profits coming from between that two or three and a half, which he pays his men, and the five dollars or more apiece the employers pay him for them and for directing their movements.

Mr. Farley considers that in every strike he has managed for the employers, they have been in the right. He disclaims especial like or dislike for unions; and he claims to have "turned down" offers to combat the organizations of labor when he thought the men were in the right. Mr. Farley, if his judgment as to the rights and wrongs of labor controversies are as infallible as his abilities to win labor battles, should be of service not only to the employers but to the general public and the unions, themselves, which he combats. When a strike is unjust, it should be "broken" and if no one else is able to break strikes, Farley is indispensable to prevent injustice. The only trouble with such power as Mr. Farley seems to have is—as with other autocratic power—in its abuse, and the chance that it may give the victory sometimes to the side not right, but hiring the strongest legions.

Government Control of Labor

To the Editor of THE COMMONS:

The article of Ethelbert Stewart, in the May Number of THE COMMONS, treats of the National control of Labor in the Navy Yards in a manner to excite a vivid interest. The present writer, (now retired because of age) has had a responsible and long continued association with the Boston Yard as a workman; he wishes to supplement the above article, with the following statements:

The workmen of the Construction Department of the yard are on record in a vigorous protest against the denial of our personal rights which took place in connection with the rules of the Civil Service. We were made, without consultation, and most unwillingly, the subjects of "naval" instead of Civil Service. We have really suffered a "sea change" in such an important matter as "Sabbath Labor," which will hereafter swing heavily toward the desecration of holy time. It is practically "mutiny," if we complain of our wages. We labor as sailors do, under peremptory obligations of silence, often in the most minute and tedious monotony of detail; we are not allowed to relieve ourselves from the care of machinery, with even a single humorous remark to lighten our toil. In short, incredible as it may appear right on the soil of Bunker Hill, and within a mile of the State Prison, free and high-spirited American citizens are subjected in this matter of free speech, to the usage of convicts. The public hears all about our faults as workmen; it knows nothing about the plutocratic control which has been instituted at Washington.

Edward H. Rogers, Chelsea, Mass.

From Social Settlement Centers

A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Roadside House, Des Moines

"To be or not to be."

The Roadside Settlement Association, like Hamlet, is facing the question of existence. "To be or not to be?—that is the question." The building which has been rented for the settlement, since its beginning in 1894, has recently been sold and is soon to be remodelled for business.

The location most desirable for a Settlement, southeast Des Moines, has been chosen by the board because in this neighborhood the people are too far away from churches, library and clubs, and as yet parks, to have the opportunities open to other parts of the city. No house suitable for a Settlement can be found in this locality, lying between the river and the packing houses, south of the railroads. A new building therefore is a necessity for the further existence of the Settlement.

The plans for this building are being considered and a committee of business men, together with some women who are closely identified with the Settlement work, is about to solicit funds. The committee consists of Messrs. L. Friedlich, Richard R. Rollins, Charles A. Rawson, Buffon S. Walker, Harley Stipp and Mesdames J. C. Hume, T. M. Walker and Miss Flora Dunlap, head resident. The personnel of the committee is in itself proof to the citizens of Des Moines that the cause is a good one, and it is further of considerable assurance to the friends of the Settlement that their efforts will be crowned with success, and that by fall a well equipped house to cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars will be erected in South Des Moines.

The Roadside Settlement had its beginning in 1891 in a small day nursery equipped and managed by the Union of King's Daughters. This little nursery was located in the first brick row north of the Savery house and it soon expanded into a genuine Settlement house, at the corner of Eighth and Mulberry, where the work has been carried on for the past ten years.

University Settlement, New York

University Settlement (New York) Studies, No. 1, Vol. 1 is just at hand and contains the annual report of the settlement. In beginning the new periodical the following word of explanation appears:

"The University Settlement has in time

past published, in addition to its annual report, the result of studies and investigations by its workers as the importance of the subjects seemed to warrant. It has now been decided to try the experiment of presenting such matter in the form of a Quarterly—one number to include the annual report. This Settlement, like other social settlements, has always devoted more or less of its efforts to a critical as well as sympathetic study of social phenomena. The residents have thought that a periodic system of publication might serve to some extent as a stimulus to this kind of work—which under stress of active campaigns for specific measures of social betterment is liable to be neglected, that it would serve as a convenient method for preserving the more important research work in properly digested form for future reference, and that it might possibly be of some value to workers and students in other fields."

The editors of the quarterly are the Head Worker, Dr. James H. Hamilton, and Dr. Walter E. Weyl. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year.

Forward Movement, Chicago

The summer encampment at Forward Movement Park on the shore of Lake Michigan 90 miles northeast of Chicago will begin about June 20, and the present outlook is for another season as successful or even more so than last year's.

The Forward Movement extends a welcome (1) to all those who from poor health or other excusable causes need financial assistance to secure an outing; (2) to the more fortunate who are able to pay actual cost of room and board, (3) to those friends of the Forward Movement who desire to aid the cause by their presence and the payment of full rate for room and board.

To meet the deficiency on account of the first class \$1,500 is needed.

No distinction is made between persons who are aided and those who are not. All have the same privileges and receive the same treatment.

A limited number of tents, supplied with floors, cots, and other simple furnishings are kept for rent. Prices vary from \$3.50 to \$6.00 a week according to the size of the tent, number occupying it and length of time of occupancy. Persons wishing to bring their own tents can rent a tent space for \$1.00 a week or \$5.00 for the season. No cooking is allowed. Rooms in cottages may also be rented at prices ranging from 50c to

\$3.00 a week. The board in the common dining hall is \$3.50 a week for adults, \$3.00 for children over six, and \$2.00 for children under six.

A course of Sunday afternoon lectures by prominent speakers is free to all, and magazines, papers, and other reading matter including a small library is provided for the use of the community.

For three summers past, the crippled children from the Fallon public school and others have spent several weeks in the park. Last summer their regular vacation school was transferred to the Park for a four weeks' session. A new building has now been erected, which will be given over to them exclusively during the month of July. This building and its surrounding cottages have a capacity for about 60 persons.

Arrangements have been made to take to the Forward Movement Park the pupils of the mute school at Englewood for a vacation school for the month of August if the expenses can be provided for. The cost will be about \$225. Should any further information concerning this outing place for the people be desired it can be obtained by addressing Geo. W. Gray, 305 W. Van Buren St.

Washington's Settlement Among the Negroes

About two years ago, when the colored conference class of the Associated Charities made a study of conditions of delinquency among the colored people of the city, Southwest Washington became by natural selection the ground for this research. The study was careful and convincing, the deductions strikingly apparent. The people enthralled by immorality, ignorance and poverty, hampered by prevailing conditions and with a dearth of effort for their immediate betterment, had become a vexing civic problem. There were churches and school

houses and the wise administration of the Associated Charities, but conditions still strongly appealed to the thoughtful for further effort. The effort finally took shape in what was termed—for "the term embodies a hope"—a social settlement.

One of the volunteer workers at Neighborhood House, a flourishing settlement not far away, gave the use of a little five-room house at 118 M. Street, S. W. She also permitted the removal of the partitions on the first floor, making the two rooms into one. By daily removals and restoring of furniture as the occasion requires, this room becomes in turn kindergarten class room, work room, recreation and club room. The living rooms are also pressed into service. The family bed becomes the nestling place of sleepy babies left while their mothers go to work and this serves as the beginning of the day nursery.

Each of these activities was instituted with an intimate knowledge of the specific needs; and there is hope that many others should grow and harden into permanency until they produce an appreciable effect upon the prevailing conditions. Already the day's work includes: the kindergarten; a girls' club, with instruction in sewing and dressmaking; a boys' club and, one afternoon a week, a mothers' club. Stamp savings and a circulating library, with books loaned by Neighborhood House are also added to the equipment of this new settlement to deal with the problem of the city negro.

One of the most important features of this work is that it is bringing into new relations two distinct classes of negroes. Its most faithful volunteers have been teachers, high and normal school students, the well-to-do and cultured of the race.

Attractive reports have reached us from Hale House, Boston, and from Kingsley House, New Orleans. We hope to have notes or articles from these two centers soon.

Professor Henderson and Robert Hunter

By F. B. Sanborn

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following this contrast of two books that have recently attracted wide and diverse comment we are glad to be able to publish other appreciations of each. For permission to print Mrs. Kelley's commendatory review of Mr. Hunter's "Poverty" we are indebted to the American Journal of Sociology, in which it recently appeared.

Two books on public charity have been offered, the past winter: Prof. Henderson's "Modern Methods of Charity," and Robert Hunter's "Poverty," which attract wide no-

tice, and may be instanced as total contrasts, one to the other. The Chicago professor, after long search, published the facts, historical and statistical, concerning charities

MODERN METHODS OF CHARITY. By Charles Richmond Henderson, University of Chicago, 715 pp. \$3.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

POVERTY. By Robert Hunter. 382 pp. \$1.50; paper edition, 25c. The Macmillan Company, New York.

in the whole civilized world, not without error of omission and commission—but on the whole, a mass of testimony from which he draws cautious inferences and leaves his readers to draw more. It is a mint of information from which the patient investigator, especially if he has some charitable knowledge of his own, can learn how different nations, in different ages, have met in various ways, that inevitable attendant of civilization, dependent poverty. These ages are instructive both by their success and their failure—partial success and partial failure—to square the circle, contrive perpetual motion or abolish poverty. No careful investigator can fail to be instructed by the copious volume. If his own experience happens to be large he can supply some omissions and perhaps correct some errors in the book; but it will add to his knowledge much more than he can add to its accuracy.

And here is Mr. Hunter's book, which neither adds to our knowledge nor increases our capacity for reasoning justly from such knowledge as we happen to have. As Louis XVIII said, when he reached Paris with the help of his allies—"Here is only one Frenchman the more—so we may say, after seeking vainly some satisfaction out of the book—"Here is only another rhetorician." Mr. Hunter's ignorance of the facts of public charity is phenomenal, and his capacity for wrong inferences is therefore unlimited. Of the real operation of the charities which he denounces he knows nothing, or, at least allows nothing to appear. They have not abolished poverty because it cannot be abolished any more than hills can exist without hollows. They have not in all places abolished pauperism—which is a very different thing from poverty—but there are very instructive instances of the check and reduction of pauperism of which Mr. Hunter takes no notice, and which he seems incapable of appreciating. He has taken a brief against existing institutions, and inveighs against them roundly—trusting for his facts either to such certificates of verity as "I do not doubt," or "I have witnessed in Chicago," or else the indiscriminate invective of the inexperienced against Out-door Relief for example. How that form of charity actually works, for good or for bad, he appears to disregard in the concrete, but claims it at a venture in the abstract. He seems to be innocent of all suspicion that the human race which has invented all the wonders of mechanism, may possibly have learned something valuable about the social mechanism, in so many thousand years; and may even have put learning into practice, somewhere in the round world. My own view is essentially different. Mankind is far from all-wise, but it has learned much and practiced much that may be roughly defined as good sense, and quite as much in the field of charity, as in commerce, for instance.

The record of this is found in Prof. Henderson's volume, and I prefer to read it there rather than to sit with Mr. Hunter in the lofty seats of contemplation and denounce my fellow-beings as fools or knaves. That function was so well executed by the preacher, long ago, that he may be left to the monopoly of it, for all me.

Poverty

In his volume, intitled *Poverty*, Robert Hunter has rendered for the United States the same service which Frederick Engels rendered to England sixty years ago by the publication of his volume on *The Condition of the Working Class*. In each case the author has revealed the struggle of the wage-earning poor, and of those who have been worsted and have sunk below the level of the wage-earners; and in each case the extent and dimensions of the picture are such as had not been attempted by a previous author in the same field.

Frederick Engel's book has not been superseded by the work of more recent investigators. It remains the classic presentation of the life of the poor in England in the decade 1840-50. Some of the prophecies of the young author have not been fulfilled after sixty years, because it is given to no man unerringly to read the future. Recognizing this fact, Robert Hunter has striven to avoid the allurements of prophecy and to confine himself to describing and interpreting the phenomena among which we all live, though few of us possess the vision requisite to the work of interpretation.

No student of philanthropy, or of sociology, can afford to ignore this book. Its main contentions concerning the extent of poverty and the active immediate causes thereof may well become the subject of wide and fruitful discussion. It is reasonable to expect that the charge of exaggeration may be brought with regard to the extent of poverty as defined by the author and also with regard to the influence of immigration. But candid effort to refute the author's position will only bring to light once more the sorry inconclusiveness of the official figures upon the collection and publication of which the individual states and the federal government expend vast sums for sadly unscientific results.

The list of authorities cited is, perhaps, somewhat weakened by the inclusion of names so little convincing to the scientific reader as those of Mrs. Van Vorst and Mr. W. J. Ghent, but when all deductions on the grounds of inclusiveness have been made, the arsenal of facts here brought to the attention of the critic must command the respect of the candid.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

Modern Methods of Charity

"Logic," said the professor—in his most pompous and ponderous manner—"logic, when reduced to its final analysis, is simply the assertion that everything is what it is, and nothing is what it is not." This is so in judging men and books. What is Dr. Henderson's book? What is it not?

It is a collection of facts concerning charitable work in many lands, gathered with much cost of time and labor, many of which are inaccessible to the student of philanthropy, for want of the original sources of information. These facts are of various degrees of value. It is probably impossible for any collector to eliminate from the mass of material accumulated by him all that should go to the rubbish heap. And it must be remembered that what is useless to one purchaser may be eminently serviceable to another.

These facts are arranged, after a fashion, the principal division being geographical, and under that topical. To find what the reader really needs is somewhat difficult. Some one has said that the important thing in a museum is the labels; if he had to sacrifice one or the other, the labels or the specimens, and if the labels were what they should be, he would let the specimens go. This is an exaggerated expression of appreciation of the utility of scientific analysis in the formulation of systematic knowledge on any subject. Such analysis is lacking, to a large degree, in the work under consideration. The matter which it contains is only partially digested.

Nevertheless, the reader—any reader, however well informed—will find in it much of which he was previously ignorant. The practical charity worker can derive from its examination numberless suggestions likely to prove helpful in the devising and putting into operation of improved methods of philanthropy. It is a storehouse of facts, and the use made of them must depend upon the freshness, the skill and the assiduity of the reader. It is not a lazy man's book.

The principal impression made upon my own mind, in the short time during which it has been in my possession, is that the problems of human need and help are everywhere substantially the same. They present themselves for solution in practically the same logical and historic order. The attempted or temporary solutions are similar, taking the surrounding conditions into account; and the experience of mankind in the aggregate confirms or refutes that of some local community at a particular epoch of social evolution. Hence the value of a wide survey of the entire field of philanthropic effort, such as has here been attempted, not without a good measure of success.

For instance, it appears that the universal and root evil in social life is poverty culminating in pauperism, that poor relief is the fundamental form of relief, and the almshouse the parent institution. Unrelieved want generates the vagrant, the wanderer, seeking some easier place in which to drag out a miserable existence. The homeless, friendless tramp is inevitably a beggar. What shall be the attitude of society to him? Shall it be friendly or unfriendly? The first human impulse is that on which all religions lay so great stress, altruistic; and if the giving of alms is believed to be a meritorious act, by which the favor of heaven can be won, as the orientals, in India and elsewhere, firmly hold, giving to beggars becomes a sacred duty not to be neglected but at the peril of one's soul. Accordingly, throughout Europe, in the Middle Age, charitable relief was for the most part ecclesiastical in form and spirit. But the growth of the class of sturdy beggars and the increase in the number of vagabonds, many of whom were criminally disposed, compelled governments to take steps for the suppression of mendicancy. It was not until later that these same governments discovered the necessity for granting civic relief to the worthy poor. When this discovery was made, then everywhere, or nearly everywhere, the right to relief was recognized and proclaimed. The acknowledgment of this right is the cornerstone of the vast edifice of public and private charity which is the glory or the shame of modern civilization, according to the point of view from which it is regarded.

Thus, Dr. Henderson says of Germany: "Throughout Germany, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, the care of the poor is made a legal obligation." "Since 1870, each state has become a member of the Empire, in which each citizen of a parish has the rights of a German citizen wherever he travels; and among his rights is that to relief when in dire need." Of England: "Every fully destitute person is entitled to relief. The refusal of the local poor officials to relieve such a person is a punishable offence." "Right to relief in case of need belongs to every person born in Scotland." "In both Sweden and Norway the obligation to give relief rests on the communes." In Denmark "the fundamental law of 1849 enacts that whoever is unable to support himself or those dependent on him has a right to assistance from the community, if his support is not incumbent on others." The Convention, in France, declared in 1793 that "public relief is a sacred debt, and it is for the law to determine the extent and application of it." The bringing together of citations like these illustrates the difference between the geographical and the substantive methods of presentation of facts, and it will hardly be disputed that the grouping of them

according to their natural relations is the more illuminating and instructive of the two.

The moment that the principle of moral responsibility for material aid to the destitute by the state (employing the word state as the synonym of civil government in general) is conceded, the organization of relief becomes imperative. Certain questions immediately arise, such as the following: Who are the destitute? What is the extent of their claim upon the community? How shall it be determined? And against whom is the cost of the relief granted to be a legal charge? This is the starting-point of organized charity. For proof of our contention that the order of thought is uniform, in the solution of these questions, regardless of nationality, the reader is referred to the chapters by Dr. Henderson and his collaborators.

Legal membership in a community is acquired in one of two ways: by birth or by residence. A hereditary domicile is not lost by removal. For a residential domicile, on the other hand, some specified duration of previous residence is essential. The evolution of a law of settlement of some sort is therefore the first step in the framing of a scheme of public charity. All such schemes regard the poor in the first instance simply as destitute persons, without reference to the subsidiary question of their specific condition, whether they are helpless children, infirm sexagenarians, sick, insane, imbecile, or crippled. The classification of paupers is a subsequent advance. Whatever may be the limitations of the community of which the pauper forms a part it is to that fraction of the population or of the political organization that he must look for aid in the calamity which has overtaken him. Suppose that he is far from home, and needs immediate assistance in an emergency. The law must provide for this contingency, but the cost of aid furnished may be collected from his local domicile, and he may be forcibly returned to the place where he belongs. What can be more natural than that the communes, townships, or other political subdivisions of the state or nation should seek to protect themselves against such a contingency by placing restrictions on the freedom of movement of citizens? But such are ultimately modified or repealed. The temptation to illustrate these observations by quoting cases in point is strong; but want of space for a complete notice forbids. So far has the principle of reciprocity been recognized in this matter, that there are even treaties and conventions in force by which the right to relief is protected and relief assured to travellers in foreign lands, so that the principle itself has made its way into international law.

Experience in the administration of pub-

lic poor relief has shown, however, that there are communities too small or too poor to be burdened with the care of their own paupers, and that there are persons in need who have no legal domicile and are not members of any local relief-giving community. Modifications in the general system have therefore been made, here and there and from time to time, some of which are outlined in the pages before us; but the reader will have to hunt them for himself and make his own combinations and deductions. We can at least assure him that the labor involved will not be wasted.

The classification of subjects of relief forms a later stage in the process of evolution of a charitable system. With that come the development of institutional charity, in various aspects: hospital care for the sick, the treatment of the insane in special hospitals, the establishments of homes for children and for the aged poor, etc. Next arises the controversy as to the respective merits and demerits of institutional and non-institutional care of all these various classes—the placing-out system for children, home care for the insane, out-door relief or indoor relief, and the like.

Dr. Henderson's researches have thrown light upon all these problems. The fault of his method is that it forces the reader to construct for himself a mental pigeon-hole case in which to file away isolated facts in their logical and scientific relations; he must do his own digesting of the abundant stores of mental food spread before him, after selecting from the mass what is to his taste or adapted to his individual needs.

From public charity we proceed to the consideration of private benevolence. The author well remarks that "Private charity, representing, as it does, the activity of individuals or groups acting only upon their own initiative and with their own resources, is much more pliable than that created and controlled by the community. While public charity, by reason of its impersonal character, is particularly apt to create and maintain large institutions, private charity by virtue of its very personal element tends to smaller efforts for more diverse needs." And again: "Private charity always suffers more or less from a too fickle public opinion."

There was private benevolence before public charity had been made a function of government; but its incomplete, unorganized, impulsive and uncertain nature had discredited it. Private charity supplements public relief in innumerable ways, to the great gain of the public and of individual sufferers; but it can never replace it even in the granting of outdoor relief. "The respective provinces of public poor relief and of private charities must be defined as clearly and as carefully as possible; furthermore, there must be established between the two a defi-

CHARITIES and Child Labor

Busy, practical men and women find in CHARITIES such labor-saving summaries of legislative advance as this:

Child-labor Advance in 1904. It is now possible to review with some exactness the progress during 1904 in the the field of child labor and compulsory education. The advances were not inconsiderable. Statutes were enacted by Massachusetts, Kentucky, New Jersey and Vermont.

Massachusetts extended to the month of December the restriction of the hours of labor of women and children, which formerly applied only to stores during eleven months of the year. It will henceforth be illegal to employ any woman or minor under eighteen years of age longer than ten hours in one day or fifty-eight hours in one week at any time during the year in any store, as it has long been illegal in any factory.

New Jersey extended to boys under fourteen years of age the prohibition which previously applied only to girls. Neither boys nor girls can now be legally employed in manufacture in New Jersey before the fourteenth birthday. Unfortunately, the legislature repealed the statute which had for ten years, since 1892, prohibited the employment at night of children under sixteen years of age in all manufactures except glassworks, canneries and establishments for preserving perishable fruits. Children fourteen years of age may, therefore, be legally employed throughout the night in factories in New Jersey.

Kentucky extended to the entire school year, not less than five months, the term of compulsory attendance at school for children under fourteen years of age.

Vermont enacted a new law, embodying some of the best features of the laws of Illinois and Massachusetts. This is the first eastern state to adopt the Illinois restriction upon the hours of labor of children under sixteen, not more than eight hours in one day, nor more than forty-eight hours in one week nor after 7 P. M., nor before 7 A. M. The requirements of Massachusetts regarding the age and schooling certificate have been approximately followed, with the addition of the passport for verification of age. The age limit has been raised only to twelve years, but no child under fifteen may be employed while the public schools are in session.

Longer articles, timely, suggestive, illustrated, written by acknowledged leaders.

CHARITIES is published every week by the Charity Organization Society, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

10 CENTS A COPY

\$2 A YEAR

8 MONTHS TRIAL \$1

nite and well ordered relation. . . . To decide what particular work shall be done by public relief and what left to private charities, will always remain a very difficult matter." In the writer's opinion, private charity does its best work, when it does not seek to duplicate the work of the state, but either accomplishes what state could not or ought not to undertake, or lays out its strength along the lines of education of public opinion and of the prevention of social evils which will otherwise require the intervention of the state for their suppression or alleviation.

What private charity has done, and what it has tried to do, constitute a large part of this remarkable thesaurus of philanthropy. Nearly or quite every phase of its multifarious activities is touched upon. It is out of the question to enumerate the topics treated in greater or less detail.

Some things have attracted our special attention, nevertheless, which may well be named here, such as the comments made upon the Elberfeld system, its limitations, and lack of adaptability to large cities; the account given of the Inner Mission in Germany; the discussion of compulsory insurance as a substitute for relief; the brief but excellent resume of the history of the English poor law; the mention made of "improved farm settlements" as a substitute for poorhouses and jails in New Zealand; the critical estimate of the value of the home colonies of Holland, which "have not solved the problem of caring for paupers;" the story of the failure of the "turning-cradle" in the Latin countries of Europe, and the reasons for it; that of the absence of systematic public or private relief in Russia; and that of beggary in India and its relation to caste.

Dr. Henderson is clear and emphatic in his declaration of the need of supervision of the entire system of charities, public and private, especially public, by the state. In this country, the movement for the better organization of charity, which has attained such proportions and been the source of so much good, is genetically traceable to the institutions, some thirty years ago, of state boards of public charities, with purely supervisory powers for the most part, out of which has grown the National Conference of Charities, admitted to be the backbone, the mainspring, or whatever else it may be called, of that wonderful movement, still in its infancy.

This is a work which no philanthropic library can afford to be without.

FREDERIC H. WINES.

From Epicurus to Christ

By William DeWitt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

There are sociologic works which hold small show of genuine ethical laws, and there are ethical and philosophic works which somehow miss the heart of the social question. But a recent book, small in compass but packed with meaning from cover to cover which may send as vital contribution to sociology if only in the noble summary of the Aristotelian philosophy which end the pages given to that philosopher. "From Epicurus to Christ," by Dr. William DeWitt Hyde, President of Bowdoin college, has had warm welcome from such reviewers who know a good book when they see it yet its title may, to the general reader, seem one that applies chiefly to the theological student. The theologian who reads and applies these summaries to his own handling of life will have added invaluable store of weapons to his armory. But the general reader no less will find new light on the bearing of each of the ancient masters in philosophy on the modern need, above all in the new-old ten commandments in which President Hyde sums up the doctrine of Aristotle.

TEN ARISTOTELIAN COMMANDMENTS

Thou shalt devote thy utmost powers to some section of our common social welfare.

Thou shalt hold this end above all lesser goods, such as pleasure, money, honor.

Thou shalt hold the instruments essential to the service of this end, second only to the end itself.

Thou shalt ponder and revere the universal laws that bind ends and means together in the ordered universe.

Thou shalt master and obey the specific laws that govern the relation of means to thy chosen end.

Thou shalt use just so much of the materials and tools of life as the service of thy end requires.

Thou shalt exclude from thy life all that exceeds or falls below this mean, reckless of pleasure lost.

Thou shalt endure whatever hardship and privation the maintenance of this mean in the service of thy end requires, heedless of the pain involved.

Thou shalt remain steadfast in his service until habit shall have made it a second nature, and custom shall have transformed it into joy.

Thou shalt find and hold a few like-minded friends, to share with thee this lifelong devotion to that common social welfare which is the task and goal of man.

MRS. HELEN CAMPBELL.

COUNTRY TIME AND TIDE

A MAGAZINE OF A MORE PROFITABLE AND INTERESTING COUNTRY LIFE

THIS is no mere negative protest against commercialism and the dreadful country and city problems that follow in its wake, the congestion of the slums and their two room tenements and the abandoned farm and country decadence. Neither do we propose to work upon these symptoms, which is the antiquated method of "charity." It is not a question of country life or city life but the question of life itself. Our work is constructive almost wholly, which this little monthly book represents on its several sides of reform in *Industry, Recreation, Education, and Religion*. It represents the actual life of an educational community in Montague, Massachusetts, *New Clairvaux*, for restoring normal conditions of life.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT \$1.00 A YEAR SINGLE COPIES 10 CENTS

COUNTRY TIME & TIDE
MONTAGUE, MASSACHUSETTS

OUR PUBLICATIONS

The General Alliance of Workers with Boys offers for sale the following monographs and special articles on boys' work:

Street Boys' Clubs: a complete manual.

How to Start the leading forms of club work with boys.

Organized Work with Boys: street boys' and church boys' clubs.

A Directory of Work with Boys in America, invaluable for any one just starting a club.

Books about Boys: what to read to know the subject, and **Books for Boys**, the most valuable lists of boys' books extant.

Boys' Camps: the theory and practice of camps.

Moral and Religious Education: the latest methods for the betterment of boys.

The Working Boy: sixteen valuable and interesting articles on boy labor.

The Problems of the Individual Boy.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS EACH.

WORK WITH BOYS: an Indispensable Magazine.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

THOMAS CHEW, Treasurer,
FALL RIVER, MASS.

Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.

The Law of **Promissory Notes Drafts, Checks, Etc.**

BY **LESLIE J. TOMPKINS, M.S., LL.M.**
PROFESSOR OF LAW, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

This work is an invaluable adjunct to every office where mercantile transactions are carried on. It thoroughly covers the law on Negotiable Instruments, and presents it in clear, terse language, easily understood by any business man. The index is most complete, and permits of easy reference to the particular point of law you want to know about, at the moment you want it.

CONTENTS

Custom of Merchants,
Common Law,
Negotiable Instruments Law,
Negotiability,
Negotiable Instruments,
Transfer,
Presentment of Drafts for Ac-
ceptance,
Presentment for Payment,
Notice of Dishonor,
Protest,
Discharge and Extinguishment,
Checks,

Form and Essential Character-
istics,
Consideration,
Indorsements,
Bona-Fide Holder for Value
Without Notice,
Liability of Parties,
Bonds,
Bills of Exchange in a Set,
Honor,
Bills of Lading,
Warehouse Receipts,
Certificates of Stock,
Letters of Credit.

"This work is very much needed. I see its great value, and cheerfully recommend it to the business community in general as an authority."—CHARLES W. HASKINS, C. P. A., President New York State Society of Certified Public Accountants.

"All business people should have a copy for general information and reference."—ALFRED W. DAY, Note and Discount Clerk, National Broadway Bank, New York.

"It should be in the hands of every accountant and business man."—FERDINAND W. LAFRENTZ, Chief Accountant American Surety Co., New York.

Sent by Mail or Express to any Address on receipt of price \$2.00.

The New Negotiable Instruments Law

So many interesting questions have arisen as to the workings of this new law (now in force in sixteen States) that a special edition of the law, in convenient form, has been printed. Price 25 cents each.

Pay Roll Tables

Based on 8, 9, 10 hour days, respectively. Show at a glance the amount of wages due an employee for any length of time, from 5 minutes to a week, and at any rate from 50c. to \$30.00 a week. Price each, on heavy blue ledger paper, 50 cents.

Every business man should read the BUSINESS WORLD. It will help him sell more goods. Published monthly. One dollar a year. Send for sample copy.

The **Business World Company**
One Madison Avenue New York

When answering advertisements please mention THE COMMONS.

Fisherman's Luck

in Summertime means freedom from

**Prickly Heat, Chafing
and Sunburn.**

MENNEN'S

Borated Talcum

Toilet Powder

always brings immediate relief. Be sure that you get the original.

Not on our package, but on our Powder, we have built our national reputation. Avoid ordinary powders, highly scented with cheap perfume and put up in ornamental packages.

The price of great success is a host of imitators. Don't be misled by the unscrupulous dealer, who says: "Just as good."

Sold everywhere, or by mail, 25 cents. Sample free.

GERHARD MENNEN CO.

Orange St., Newark, N. J.

Try Mennen's Violet Talcum.



Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers

It would be difficult to find anybody
nowadays who is not reading

Everybody's Magazine

The articles by Thomas W. Lawson,
of Boston, "Frenzied Finance," have in-
creased the circulation of the magazine
from 250,000 copies monthly to over
900,000 in a few months.

Everybody's Magazine is sold on all
news-stands unless sold out.

